

JPRS 74344

10 October 1979

West Europe Report

No. 1480



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 74344	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle WEST EUROPE REPORT, No. 1480			5. Report Date 10 October 1979	
7. Author(s)			6.	
8. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			9. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
14.			15. Supplementary Notes	
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains political/economic information on West European energy, finance and trade policy matters as well as developments and trends in the doctrine, programs and problems of the major communist parties, including their relations with communist parties outside the West European area. The report also contains information on Theater Nuclear Forces and elections to the European Parliament.				
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors				
Political Science	<u> </u> International Affairs	<u> </u> Iceland		
Sociology	<u> </u> Austria	<u> </u> Italy		
Propaganda	<u> </u> Belgium	<u> </u> Luxembourg		
Economics	<u> </u> Canada	<u> </u> Netherlands		
Energy	<u> X </u> Cyprus	<u> </u> Norway		
Industry	<u> </u> Denmark	<u> X </u> Portugal		
Trade	<u> X </u> Federal Republic of	<u> X </u> Spain		
Finance	<u> </u> Germany	<u> </u> Sweden		
Theater Nuclear Forces	<u> X </u> Finland	<u> </u> Switzerland		
	<u> X </u> France	<u> </u> Turkey		
	<u> X </u> Greece	<u> </u> United Kingdom		
b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5C, 5D, 10				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 93	
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price	

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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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CONTENTS

PAGE

COUNTRY SECTION

CYPRUS

Cyprus President Interviewed by 'I VRADYNI' (I VRADYNI, 24 Sep 79)	1
President Kyprianou Addresses 'UNGA' Plenary Session (Spyros Kyprianou; Nicosia Public Information Office, 1 Oct 79).....	4

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

U.S., FRG Agree on Joint Approach to Monetary Problems (DPA, 29 Sep 79)	12
Apel, CDU Leader: United States Must Make FRG Purchases for Awacs (DIE WELT, 8/9 Sep 79)	13
Apel Writes Pentagon Concern in Bonn	
Strauss Interviewed on Election Campaign (Franz Josef Strauss Interview; Norddeutscher Rundfunk Network, 27 Sep 79)	15
Genscher Interviewed on UN Appearance, FRG-U.S. Relations (Hans-Dietrich Genscher Interview; Baden Suedwestfunk Network, 30 Sep 79)	19
Genscher Notes Importance of UN Discussions (Hans-Dietrich Genscher Interview; ARD Television Network, 27 Sep 79)	24

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Press Discusses Genscher's United Nations Speech (Hans-Dietrich Genscher; Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network, 28 Sep 79)	26
'DPA' Announces Provisional Results of Local Elections (DPA, 30 Sep 79)	28
Provisional Results of Local FRG Elections (Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network, 1 Oct 79)	29
Bundeswehr Inspector Discusses State of Army (Juergen Brandt Interview; DER SPIEGEL, 1 Oct 79) .	31

FINLAND

Finns Sign Agreement To Build Copper Smelting Plant for Bulgarians (HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, 7 Sep 79)	40
Communists Attack Social Democrats' Revaluation Debate Tactics (HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, 24 Aug 79)	41
Revaluation Alone Won't Solve Timber Industry's Troubles (Rafael Paro; HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, 23 Aug 79)	44
State Could Do More To Help Timber Industry (Claes Henrik de la Chapelle; HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, 30 Aug 79)	47

FRANCE

PCF Deputies Meet, Prepare for Fall Parliamentary Sessions (L'HUMANITE, 19 Sep 79)	50
PCF's Marchais Speaks on Left Union, Other Issues (L'HUMANITE, 14 Sep 79)	57
Galley Interviewed on Bangui Intervention (Paris Domestic Service, 21 Sep 79)	62
Indian Ocean Called 'Essential Element for 1980's' (AFRIQUE DEFENSE, Sep 79)	63

GREECE

'I KATHIMERINI' Warns Against Junta Remnants (Editorial; I KATHIMERINI, 21 Sep 79)	65
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
City Planning Restrictions Announced (PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA, 2 Sep 79)	67
Mornos Dam Closes for Additional Reinforcement (Giorgos P. Karalis; PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA, 2 Sep 79)	69
Color TV Contract Signed With French Official (PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA, 7 Sep 79)	72
PORTUGAL	
Pintasilgo Hopes to 'Bequeath Path' Toward Economic Change (DIARIO DE NOTICIAS, 11 Sep 79)	76
Paper Publishes Background Information on New Party (EXPRESSO, 1 Sep 79)	78
PCP Sends Greetings to 22nd National CPUSA Convention (AVANTE, 6 Sep 79)	81
SPAIN	
Democratic Coalition Faces Internal Problems (EL PAIS, 9 Sep 79)	83
Internal UCD Divisions Reportedly Causing Strains (EL PAIS, 9 Sep 79)	84
PCE's Azcarate Views Outcome of Nonaligned Conference (Editorial, Manuel Azcarate; MUNDO OBRERO, 13 Sep 79)	88

CYPRUS PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED BY 'I VRADYNI'

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 24 Sep 79 p 3 AT

[Text of "Replies to Eight Questions" asked by I VRADYNI correspondent Vasos Vasileiou of Cyprus President Spyros Kyprianou in Nicosia at the Presidential Mansion--date not given]

[Text] Question: Five years have passed since the invasion. How can we summarize the situation in the Republic of Cyprus? What political-economic result has the "Attila" operation had on Turkey?

Answer: It is a fact that 5 years have passed since the coup and the invasion which, regardless of whether it will be proven historically or not, in any case logically must have been parts of the same plan against Cyprus. Various reports now provide evidence that the Turkish forces were ready before the coup occurred, so at least Turkey knew it would take place. The coup is an unprecedented crime in the nation's history. It was a premeditated effort to destroy Cyprus. Because of the coup, the Turkish invasion took place which resulted in the occupation of 40 percent of the land, the uprooting of one-third of the population from their traditional homes, the violation of all human rights, destruction, thousands of dead and thousands of missing persons about whom all efforts should be made to ascertain their fate.

Truly, it is a terrible picture that has not changed in these 5 years. It should be noted that in addition to its completely negative stance, Turkey has settled in various parts of occupied Cyprus Turks from Turkey in an effort to change the demographic character of Cyprus. Repeated efforts for talks have not born fruit despite good intentions on our part. Recently even the agreement of 19 May, concluded in the presence of the UN Secretary General, has not adhered to by the Turkish Cypriot leadership which has been trying to undermine it.

The Foreign Occupation

Question: Is there a possibility of bridging the gap that has been created between Greek and Turkish Cypriots?

Answer: I firmly believe that not only will it be possible for them to live together again, but that the great majority of the Turkish Cypriots want to. The presence of the Turkish Army is the obstacle. All indications are that the great majority of the Turkish Cypriots are suffering both from the Turkish army and from the settlers. Now, they have realized how much better they used to be with the Greek Cypriots. They have also realized that their happiness lies in the unity of the state and people and not in division. This is a good omen but the great problem continues to be the termination of the foreign occupation.

The "Practical" Measures

Question: What have UN resolutions on the Cyprus problem accomplished? Will it be possible to make decisions on practical measures for their implementation?

Answer: Resolutions by the United Nations and other international organizations and the results of discussions in various international forums maintain the Cyprus problem alive as an international problem and at the same time constitute a means of pressure on Turkey and on those people who can influence it. I should stress that the last resolution by the nonaligned proved not only that the Cyprus problem has not been forgotten but that the nonaligned, who constitute a majority in the United Nations, specifically manifested their interest and support for it. The Havana Conference was not a conference like those that pass resolutions without serious study. In the case under discussion, the text of the resolution was the object of serious study and discussions and the decision was taken very consciously. The atmosphere was very good for us and I believe that this augurs well for even better results in the UN General Assembly.

Question: Do you hope that the General Assembly will issue a resolution like the Havana one and do you have plans for recourse to the Security Council?

Answer: After the General Assembly and in the light of the results we shall resort to the Security Council and ask it to take practical measures to promote and implement UN resolutions. Although we do not delude ourselves and do not ignore difficulties, we shall raise the issue of sanctions and at the same time we shall examine methods and suggestions for greater involvement by the Security Council and UN executive organs in the Cyprus problem. Many people wonder what the benefits are of internationalizing the Cyprus problem and the favorable results of conferences. There are benefits, but even if there were not and if one were to reverse the question and ask where would the Cyprus problem be without these international resolutions and mobilizations, the answer would be that the Cyprus problem would have been isolated and consequently Ankara's plans would have been facilitated. I believe that the stronger the fight becomes in the international arena, the more possibilities increase for an equitable solution of the Cyprus problem.

The "Principal Mainstay"

Question: Is militant solidarity between Greece and Cyprus formed according to circumstances or does it have planned long-term goals.

Answer: Both things. There is Greece's permanent support of Cyprus' struggle which acquires a specific form according to developments and facts. In any case, I would like to stress that the Cyprus people consider Greece and Hellenism as their principal mainstay in the struggle for freedom and justice.

The Rifts in the Front

Question: If we accept that under the current circumstances in Cyprus the solidarity of the domestic front, at the grass roots and party level and in the echelons of power is indispensable, is there justification for the uneasiness that it may be disturbed?

Answer: I believe that disagreements or differences that are observed from time to time at the party level are natural phenomena because we live in a democratic regime, something which we want to preserve by all means. However, these disagreements do not constitute a danger for the readiness needed for the promotion of the Cyprus problem. Many times an impression has been created that there are dangerous rifts. Personally, I believe that regardless of the differences that may exist and regardless of the way they are expressed, basically unity prevails, which is necessary. After all, this is the perennial demand of our people. Sometimes an impression is created that the domestic front is in danger or that it is not as it should be. However, apart from the disagreements, there is the fact that all party leaders have accepted my proposal that they go to the United Nations to promote the Cyprus problem. I have in mind a number of initiatives that will help consolidate unity without this meaning that one seeks to abolish the independence of parties or the possibility of disagreement.

Question: What can the superpowers contribute to the solution of the Cyprus problem?

Answer: The superpowers can and it is their obligation to cooperate in order to find a solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of UN resolutions. This is what we asked in the past. We continue to believe that this is the way to confront the problem to achieve positive results.

The Waldheim Report

Question: The last Waldheim report contains this paragraph: "A decisive and with (political) imagination approach of the Cyprus problem based on existing guidelines and agreements can lead to a quick improvement for all interested parties and is much more preferable to the continuation of the unsatisfactory and dynamically unstable current situation." How do you interpret this paragraph of the UN Secretary General's report?

Answer: The Secretary General must mean an approach on the basis of the UN resolutions and consequently not by outside facts accomplished. We are always ready to examine any suggestion he makes.

PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU ADDRESSES 'UNGA' PLENARY SESSION

Nicosia Public Information Office in English 1 Oct 79 NC

[Speech by Spyros Kyprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, at the Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly on 1 October--embargoed until 1600 GMT]

[Excerpts] Mr President,

The agenda which is before the General Assembly at this session includes many issues of major concern to the international community.

The present session opens against the grim background of increasing political and economic tensions and deepening crises which could aggravate the frustrations and fears of mankind for its future. The most important and fundamental objectives, namely the maintenance of international peace and security through this organization and the establishment of a new international economic order, remain far from being achieved.

In this context, I deem it necessary to state that Cyprus reiterates its position that in reviewing global problems or international conflicts we should act within the framework of the United Nations and its charter. It is in this light that we consider the report of the secretary-general as a most significant document. Its review of world developments and its assessment of situations should be given full consideration and attention as a basic premise for discussions in the general debate. In the face of a sharply deteriorating world situation, the secretary-general has rightly pointed out that "most of the symptoms and problems are ones which the United Nations, if effectively utilized, as the working structure of the world community of the future, could be of unique assistance in solving...This is not a matter of abstract idealism but of practical self-interest. It is also a matter of urgency."

The Third World countries in particular have amply reaffirmed and supported this premise during the 6th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries early last month in Havana. To my mind, the Sixth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries symbolizes the genuine efforts of the Third World countries to restructure the world's political and economic order through the

United Nations. With the great powers still in a posture of nuclear antagonism, the increasing manifestations of insecurity and anarchy at the international level threaten the very foundations of human society. In this regard, the genuine efforts of the non-aligned countries to arrest these ominous trends, assume a more important dimension. As it is pointed out in the secretary-general's report, the non-aligned movement is a good example of this positive attitude.

No doubt it will take many more concerted efforts before we see the realization of a new international society. But we have come a long way from the time when the voice of the Third World was unheard, unnoticed and unheeded.

Whatever the developments, one cardinal truth remains unchanged: that recourse to the system of legal order and security prescribed by the charter is a compelling necessity. To that end, determined steps must be taken to bring into operation the provisions in Chapter VII of the Charter for the Effective Implementation of the Resolutions of the Security Council, thereby restoring the authority of the United Nations.

In reference to the nonimplementation of the Security Council resolutions, this year's report pointedly notes that "what has not so far been adequately developed is a general and consistent support for the aims and activities of the United Nations as a whole, as a working model for a genuine world community. This is particularly obvious in the response or lack of it to many of the decisions of the Security Council."

It is thus clear that mere condemnation of the state of affairs whereby the adoption, often unanimously, of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council without implementation, will, in fact, have the effect of discrediting the organisation and of encouraging the party in default to continue its attitude of contemptuous disregard of such resolutions. Therefore, my proposal of last year for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly to deal with this so vital issue alone is more pertinent than ever before. If the holding of a special session of the question of the implementation of the United Nations resolutions is not feasible for the time being, then at the very least, serious consideration should be given to placing this issue on next year's agenda as a priority item. Cyprus is ready to cooperate with any other member-states which would agree to see the inscription of this item on the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly. It is an item which is very much of concern to us in Cyprus, but it is evident that it is of much concern to others as well, and to the United Nations as a whole.

Mr President, I now turn to the important issue of peace-keeping by the United Nations and wish to express our gratitude for the excellent contribution made over the years to the cause of peace in Cyprus by UNFICYP, under the most difficult conditions. More particularly, I wish to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the countries that

are contributing to the peacekeeping operation in Cyprus either by contingents or materially. I also wish to say how impressed I am with the exemplary manner in which the officers and men of the various contingents are discharging their delicate duties. Finally, I wish to express our deep gratitude to the secretary-general, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and his collaborators for their constructive role in relation to the functioning of UNFICYP and for their efforts toward finding a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem.

I should be remiss, however, if I were not to point out that peacekeeping operations, no matter how successful they are in containing a potentially explosive situation, could not advance a just solution of problems unless they are coupled with a tenacious peacemaking effort on the basis and in pursuance of the relevant United Nations' resolutions. The lack of parallel determined action to implement these resolutions will make peace on the basis of justice impossible. It would only have as a result a mere perpetuation of an unjust status quo.

Mr President, In dealing with the question of the advancement of respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, I wish to emphasize our total commitment to this noble objective. Cyprus has been among the first to become a party to the United Nations' covenants on human rights and the convention of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Cyprus is also a signatory to the European Convention on Human Rights. We have all along held the view that the obligation to observe human rights is universal and that no deviation is permitted from this course, no matter what reasons are advanced to justify such deviation. A mere glance at the world scene is sufficient to convince us of the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs, as far as protection of fundamental human rights is concerned. What is more deplorable is the fact that numerous decisions of various competent organs, such as the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and others, remain unimplemented and the agonizing plea for the cessation of such violations goes unheeded.

This is true in particular of the situation in my country, where Turkey for the fifth year running continues to trample upon every norm of international law and to flagrantly violate practically every basic human right of the Cypriot people. I take it that the world is by now aware of the verdict of the European Commission on Human Rights, made public on 31 August 1979, which found Turkey guilty of countless crimes perpetrated by its troops of invasion and occupation against the people of Cyprus. The official text of this report will soon be circulated to all members of the United Nations. In contrast to the violations of all human rights in Cyprus by Turkey, and in an earnest desire not only to convince [you] of our dedication to human rights and fundamental freedoms but also to prove our goodwill, I wish to repeat what I said in my statement before this assembly last year. We agree to the setting up of a United Nations body to supervise the application of the highest standards of human rights

and fundamental freedoms to all citizens of Cyprus and to report, as appropriate, to the Security Council or any other competent body. This proposal could easily form part of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Mr President, I now turn to the grave problem with which my own country is confronted and which has been holding the attention of the United Nations for more than 5 years. The United Nations resolutions provided the basis and the framework for a just and lasting solution of this problem. Yet, 5 years later, these resolutions still remain contemptuously disregarded by Turkey. The occupation of 40 percent of the territory of Cyprus by the Turkish Army is still continuing, none of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees have been allowed back to their homes, the 2,000 missing persons have not been traced and human rights in the occupied areas and of the whole population of Cyprus continue to be grossly violated. Moreover, systematic measures are being taken through the massive implantation of colonizers from Turkey and through other measures, like the introduction of the Turkish currency in the occupied areas, the cancellation of all valid Cyprus passports in the hands of Turkish Cypriots, the grant of illegal land titles to Turkish Cypriots and to settlers from Turkey in the occupied areas and other ominous acts, all constituting evidence that the aim of Turkey is the consolidation of partition and, perhaps, the eventual annexation of the occupied part of Cyprus. In its essence, the Cyprus problem is a dispute between Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus and not, as falsely portrayed by some, a difference between the two communities in Cyprus. It is a question of invasion and occupation. The internal aspects of the Cyprus problem could be easily solved if this task were left to the Cypriots themselves to discuss and resolve without foreign interference. We want Cyprus to become a state free from foreign troops, fully independent, territorially integral, sovereign, united, demilitarized and non-aligned. We have accepted federation, although in the past such a solution was considered by many constitutional experts as completely unacceptable for a small island like Cyprus. But when we speak of federation we mean true federation, a federation that will function properly and within which the right to move freely, the right of settlement and the right of property would be safeguarded and where human rights are fully and uniformly applied and respected. What the other side apparently wants is not a federation but the creation of two separate states with separate borders, separate armies, separate treaty-making capacities and permits and visas to move from one region of such so-called "federation" to the other. Such a "federation" would be tantamount to complete partition.

We would have been entitled to refuse to negotiate until the occupation forces were withdrawn, but we did not follow this line and we repeatedly tried to negotiate in good faith, despite the presence of the foreign troops of occupation over the past 5 years. Despite the fact that the negotiations could not be "free," as stipulated in the United Nations resolutions because of the continued occupation of 40 percent of the territory of Cyprus and the other circumstances created by the invasion, we did whatever we could through negotiations with the Turkish Cypriot "leadership" to find some common ground for progress; and when one speaks of the Turkish

Cypriot "leadership" let us not make any mistake about it. In fact, it means Ankara. The Turkish Cypriot leadership, which is totally dependent on Ankara, reflects the views of the Turkish Government and the Turkish Army rather than the views of the Turkish Cypriots, whose majority live discontentedly in conditions of misery and injustice in the occupied areas completely dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and longing for a better tomorrow. No wonder, therefore, that no progress has been achieved.

Yet, despite the bitter experience and fruitless efforts of the past 5 years, I agreed to meet with the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr Denktas, in the presence of the secretary-general of the United Nations on 19 May 1979. During that meeting, we reached an agreement with Mr Denktas consisting of 10 points which provide a sound basis for the negotiation of a just solution of the Cyprus problem. I will not go here into speculation why Mr Denktas accepted this agreement. Any doubts, however, were removed when only a few days later the Turkish Cypriot leadership, backed by Turkey, employed all possible methods to undermine the agreement and frustrate the new efforts. Although the talks formally began on 15 June, they lasted for a few days only and the Turkish Cypriot leadership started putting preconditions for the continuation of the talks. These preconditions, if accepted, would have amounted to recognizing partition as a final solution to the Cyprus problems.

We continue to stand by the agreement of 19 May 1979, but we cannot accept any preconditions or conditions or misinterpretations. As I said before, we chose repeatedly the path of negotiations, although we would have been entitled not to do so. But we do not want negotiations for the sake of negotiations. The other side may want that for obvious reasons. It would not be fair, and in fact it would be counterproductive, to carry out a fruitless dialogue for the sake of the dialogue and as a way of deceiving world opinion that something is being achieved, when in fact no progress whatsoever is being made. The stumbling block to meaningful negotiations is the lack of political will on the part of Turkey to abandon its partitionist and expansionist policy, and I believe that this has been widely accepted by now by all objective observers of Cyprus developments. All our attempts throughout the last 5 years to find a just and lasting solution through negotiations have come across the stone wall of Turkish intransigence. But if the opportunity arises for meaningful and substantive negotiations, we shall not hesitate to go to the negotiating table again.

Mr President, It is with regret that I report to the General Assembly this year that no progress has been made toward finding a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem. Nevertheless, it is a source of satisfaction for us that at the commonwealth conference in Lusaka and at the non-aligned conference in Havana the just cause of Cyprus received overwhelming support. We do not reject the method of intercommunal negotiations but when there is a deadlock for 5 years what do you expect a suffering people to do? To sit idle and wait? How can a people suffering for more than 5 years the devastating effects of foreign occupation be expected to remain idle and forego their right to present their case to

international fora, seeking the assistance of world opinion and a remedy to their plight? That is why it is absolutely essential for us to continue without interruption to seek justice from the international community. We seriously draw the attention of the international community to the situation in Cyprus, in view of the fact that for 5 years now the occupation continues with all other consequences and we are entitled to demand from the international community more specific action with a view to implementing the resolutions of the United Nations which contain all the necessary elements for a just and lasting solution. I believe, Mr President, that we have a right to demand justice like the people of Zimbabwe, like the people of Namibia, like the people of Palestine. We ask that the international community become fully conscious not only of the great injustice perpetrated against Cyprus and its people, but also of the fact that the situation in Cyprus is fraught with many dangers for Cyprus and beyond Cyprus, unless a solution is found in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations.

We come once again to the General Assembly to ask in unequivocal terms the speedy and effective implementation of the United Nations resolutions. In this respect, we believe that the time has come for the General Assembly to recommend to the Security Council the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to compel Turkey to comply with her obligations under the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Although we have no illusions about the difficulties, due to political expediencies, to secure sanctions, we strongly feel that 5 years are more than enough for a member-state of the United Nations to ignore with impunity the verdict of this organisation. If concrete action is not taken by the United Nations, it is the United Nations which will fail and the faith of humanity in the United Nations will be seriously shaken at a time when we all want it to become an effective instrument for international peace and security.

Mr President, I strongly believe that the United Nations can do more. Some years ago, a representative international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, was suggested by the Soviet Union to deal with the problem of Cyprus and assist in finding a solution, in conformity with the United Nations resolutions. We reiterate our acceptance of this proposal because we believe that it has a lot of merit and we hope that the General Assembly may take a decision for the holding of such a conference which, we believe, can prove very constructive in tackling the problem of Cyprus.

We also believe that the General Assembly or the Security Council should appoint a committee from among members to cooperate with the secretary-general toward the finding of a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The composition and the terms of reference of such a committee should be decided by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

Mr President, moreover, we are willing and ready to consider any other effective means which would make possible a just and lasting solution on

the basis of the United Nations resolutions. As everyone knows, it is Ankara which calls the tune of the Turkish Cypriot leadership. We have over and over again proved our goodwill. We fully accept the agreement of 19 May 1979. I have already mentioned what we are prepared to do in connection with the safeguarding of the human rights of all citizens of Cyprus, and I repeat my proposal for the complete disarmament and demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus with the presence only of an international police force for as long as necessary to strengthen, if necessary, the sense of security of all Cypriots. This proposal was endorsed by the non-aligned countries in the declarations of Belgrade and Havana. The withdrawal from Cyprus of all troops and the total disarmament of all armed forces in the republic will in itself pave the way toward a united country and a united people. Without the unity of the country, the unity of the people and the unity of the economy, Cyprus cannot survive as an independent state. Any kind of division is artificial and contrary to the interests of all Cypriots. That is why we, on our part, shall never accept any divisive arrangement whatever its title or whatever its terminology. If the foreign intervention and interference cease, Cyprus can become a happy homeland for all its citizens, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. And, when I say this before this august body, I am absolutely certain that I express the wish not only of the Greek Cypriots but also of the vast majority of the Turkish Cypriots.

I have given you, Mr President, today's position with regard to the Cyprus question. What is before this assembly is the cessation of occupation of a large part of Cyprus by the Turkish armed forces and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions in all their aspects. The United Nations must do its utmost to ensure for Cyprus the basic right to which every state is entitled and first and foremost the cessation of foreign occupation. The Charter provides the way and it is our fervent appeal, Mr President, that all peace-loving countries in the world should help us to this end. We appeal to all member-states of this organisation to help Cyprus safeguard its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. Today is the 19th anniversary of the independence of Cyprus. But the very survival of Cyprus is at stake. We want to see a completely free and independent Cyprus. We want to create a safer future for our children. We want to create such conditions in Cyprus, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots will be able to work and live and prosper together. We sincerely want to contribute most positively to the reestablishment of stability and peace in our sensitive and highly explosive area. Help us put an end to this untold tragedy which Cyprus and its people have been going through for the last 5 years. Help us restore the unity of the country and the unity of the people, for that is where happiness and prosperity for all Cypriots lie. Help us restore justice. Help us restore freedom. Help us do away with the human agony and drama.

How can anyone forget the agony of the families and dependents of the 2,000 missing persons, who for 5 years now are not in a position to know what happened to their beloved ones. I appeal to all to join in bringing

influence to bear on Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to honour the agreement on the missing persons of 19 May, an agreement which was concluded in the presence of the secretary-general and announced by him. Is the aggressor really so inhuman as to refuse, 5 years after the crime, to cooperate on this purely humanitarian issue? Is it impossible for the United Nations to do more in this respect?

Mr President, I wish to stress that both regarding Cyprus as well as all other international problems on the agenda of the assembly it is of essence to coordinate our efforts so that instead of being overwhelmed by frustration and inability to act, we should take concrete and effective steps so as to secure complete freedom, complete justice and respect for human rights everywhere. It is only upon this basis that lasting peace can be achieved and this is the task and the mission of the United Nations.

CSC: 4920

U.S., FRG AGREE ON JOINT APPROACH TO MONETARY PROBLEMS

Hamburg DPA in German 1553 GMT 29 Sep 79 LD

[Excerpts] Hamburg--The United States and the Federal Republic intend to fight jointly for a strong and stable dollar and against inflation. At a meeting in Hamburg today, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, U.S. treasury secretary, William Miller and Federal Finance Minister Hans Matthoefer affirmed their determination to counter the "unjustified and erratic movements in international foreign exchange." "The necessary interventions will be carried out immediately with close cooperation between the authorities concerned," according to a joint statement issued after the Hamburg meeting. Further in the statement the politicians noted that the intervening authorities have the necessary financial resources. The presidents of the central banks of the two countries are to insure the application of a joint, mutually agreed approach in all relevant markets.

Chancellor Schmidt and the two finance ministers criticized the latest oil price increases and demanded that the oil producers pursue a responsible pricing policy. "We agree that the recent steep increases in world oil prices represent a serious threat to the structure of the world economy by fanning inflation and limiting the growth of international trade," the statement says. A responsible oil price policy is essential for the well-being of the world economy.

The two sides underlined their determination to fight inflation and their belief in the need for a "strong and stable dollar." Their highest priority will be given to fighting inflation. "The earlier this fight is won, the easier it will be to solve the problems of our national economies."

U.S. treasury secretary, William Miller and Central Bank President, Paul Volcker (?promised) that the United States would continue to pursue a disciplined fiscal and monetary policy. "Single-digit inflation, as well as a balance of payments surplus, will be achieved during the coming months (in the United States)," Miller and Volcker stressed in the statement.

Federal Finance Minister Matthoefer emphasized the need to reduce the public budget deficits in the Federal Republic in order to bring inflation rate under control. "In 1980, the inflation rate will be lower than it is now," Matthoefer said.

APEL, CDU LEADER: UNITED STATES MUST MAKE FRG PURCHASES FOR AWACS

Apel Writes Pentagon

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8/9 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] It is an unusual picture. Federal Defense Minister Hans Apel (SPD) and the CDU Bundestag deputy Carl Damm playing the same tune. Five weeks ago Damm expressed fears that the Americans did not want to yield to the obligation of compensatory purchases for the introduction of the American early warning system "Awacs." At the same time he threatened to block the DM 100.4 million provided for "Awacs" in the Bundestag budgetary committee. And now Minister Apel has communicated his concern over the "delays" in the compensation purchase to his American colleague Brown and has informed Damm of his letter to Brown.

The legal basis is clear. In November 1978 Bonn obligated itself by 1986 to a 30-percent participation in the procurement of "Awacs" in Europe (total costs about DM 3.3 billion). As compensatory purchases the Americans are to invest DM 501 million marks within 10 years in German wheeled vehicles, communications equipment and manufacture under license of the 120-mm cannon of the "Leopard" tank.

The "concern" in Bonn affects American performance to date. Only the license arrangement is on schedule. The Americans have not yet ordered the communications equipment, and of the total of 9,000 wheeled vehicles (DM 211 million marks) only 282 have been ordered. On the other hand Bonn has already invested DM 74 million marks in "Awacs," and an additional 100 million is to follow in 1980.

Says Carl Damm to DIE WELT: "We know the American requirement. The 9,000 vehicles would not have to be standing around." Damm mentions another example which has increased mistrust of the Americans. The United States showed interest in the purchase of 1,000 forklifts in the framework of the compensatory purchases. Offers were obtained and a veritable paper flood crossed the ocean. German fork lifts in the end were not ordered; instead the Americans ordered 200 forklifts in the United States which are to be delivered to the U.S. Army in the FRG.

In addition German firms outdid themselves to meet the Americans. For example they were granted the same discount which the Bundeswehr gets on large orders. With an expected order of 1,000 vehicles per year according to the agreement, the 282 vehicles ordered (DM 3 million) can hardly be described as a large order, thinks Damm.

In the view of the CDU politician the Americans must now clearly meet their obligations. "It is hardly to be expected that they will take 9,000 vehicles in the last year of the deadline."

Concern in Bonn

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8/9 Sep p 2

[Text] Federal Defense Minister Hans Apel has complained to his American counterpart Brown about the delay in the purchase of German military equipment as compensation for the acquisition of the early warning system Awacs. In response to a question by DIE WELT the defense ministry confirmed in Bonn yesterday that Apel asked "about the status of the treaty purchases" in a letter to the Pentagon.

In Washington they say that Apel's reference to the planned Awacs purchase was not taken by Brown as a concealed threat to cancel the agreement in the event the United States does not give compensatory orders to West German firms.

At least DM 3.3 billion must be spent for the procurement of the Awacs system consisting of a fleet of 18 Boeing 707's. Bonn obligated itself to assume 30.7 percent of this amount on condition that the United States buy a total of DM 501 million worth of German equipment for its armed forces in Europe. Among other things, the United States undertook to buy 9,000 German vehicles.

The CDU Bundestag Deputy Carl Damm had called upon Apel to enquire why the compensatory deals were going so slowly.

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CSO: 3103

STRAUSS INTERVIEWED ON ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Hamburg Norddeutscher Rundfunk Network in German 0715 GMT 27 Sep 79 DW

[Interview with CSU chairman and Bavarian Minister President Franz Josef Strauss by unidentified reporter, no place or date given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] The Bochum Land Court urged Bavarian Minister President Franz Josef Strauss and SPD manager Egon Bahr to appear in court on 3 October. It will be clarified whether Bahr was one of the initiators of the Essen riots aimed against Strauss. Bahr announced that he will personally appear in the Bochum Court on 3 October. Mr Minister President, will you, too, appear in the Bochum Court?

[Answer] I just learned a few hours ago that the court demanded personal appearance. That is possible in a provisional injunction, but it is not generally usual. On 3 October I have an important political meeting that has to do with the work of the Bavarian Landtag in the fall and with the work of the CSU faction. As far as I know, my lawyer asked to postpone the date to a day when I will not be under pressure for time.

[Question] Let us get to the reason for this juridical dispute, the riots and the disturbances of your meetings. CSU Secretary General Edmund Stoiber yesterday accused the SPD of being also responsible for the riots in Bremen. Despite the incidents in Essen, the SPD again created together with the communists and organized groups that wanted to disturb the meeting, a climate of hatred and violence, said Stoiber. Has the CSU concrete evidence for this accusation?

[Answer] The SPD pursues a certain strategy for years since I have been appointed candidate for chancellor by the CDU/CSU union parties. Mr Brandt formulated the strategy as follows: Mr Strauss must know what will happen if he goes to the Ruhr area, to Bremen or to Hamburg. In Essen as well as in Bremen the violent demonstrations were preceded by a speech of an SPD politician. This SPD politician thereafter naturally had nothing to do with the events.

I stated at my press conference last Monday that I did not say that Mr Bahr personally has instigated the riots and that he has organized them personally. But he is the spiritual initiator; because of his speeches on Strauss as the image of an enemy, [Feindbild], his statement that he is happy to be able to personally organize the election campaign against Strauss and most of all as the main manager of the SPD, he belongs to the circle of those who bear a spiritual responsibility and thus also a moral responsibility for aggravating the atmosphere, for misleading the young people and thus for these riots.

[Question] Is not basically your freedom of speech in the entire Federal Republic of Germany involved? You accuse SPD Chairman Will Brandt of creating something like a second partition in Germany. Do you mean a political division between the North and the South?

[Answer] I mean a division into prohibition zones where only those speakers may appear who have so to speak a license or a ticket from Mr Brandt.

[Question] So that this handicaps your undisturbed appearance north of the main river line?

[Answer] That is absolutely out. The term north of the main river line is a propaganda invention of the SPD. Just look at the thousands of listeners who are coming to my meetings and who in part are supposed to be kept away by threats of violence. That is absolutely out.

[Question] Tomorrow the minister president will meet with Federal Chancellor Schmidt. Do you think it could be possible to eliminate this whole affair in a talk and to cancel the date set by the court?

[Answer] The leading SPD gentlemen wash their hands of it. They say that they have nothing to do with it. They dislike such methods, but Mr Brandt let the cat out of the sack when he said something to the effect that he did not know whether the basis will keep to it. I know this double strategy. But the whole affair is not surprising.

In Bremen, for instance, the meeting was opened by a speech of Finance Senator Henning Scherf. He had just a few listeners, said the press. The meeting was held near the great assembly hall. The demonstrators went there. But he was the one who termed even Mr Carstens, Mr Stuecklen and myself as members of a gang, which rightly can be interpreted as gangsters.

[Question] You could go to court with this.

[Answer] I do not plan to do that because I do not want to deal with such political things in court. The bad conscience of Mr Bahr is expressed by the fact that he flees into formal juridical matters instead of accepting the political responsibility or, which would be even more important, to see to it that in the future no such things will happen again, for after all they will backfire on the SPD.

The Bremen spokesman, Mr Scherf, on 13 December 1974 supported, for example, as a leading member of the Young Socialists the decision that was made at that time by the Bremen Council of the Young Socialists. The decision reads literally, for example: Such persons as Dregger, Strauss and Loewenthal--the text here even says Dregger, Carstens, Strauss and Loewenthal--are much more dangerous for the democracy as spiritual terrorists. Those who publicly attack respectable democratic politicians representing another standpoint, a standpoint those people do not like, attack them in such a way--terming them as spiritual terrorists--cannot deny that they create an atmosphere that way where such things happen because of young people who have been misled, who are easy to influence and who have become the victim of agitation.

[Question] Do you consider this as jeopardizing democracy?

[Answer] Yes, if you do not stop it in the beginning.

[Question] Let me ask you another question: Do you consider the North Rhine-Westphalian election a personal test election? How will you react in the event the CDU will suffer tangible losses there?

[Answer] There is no sense in proceeding today from election results which we do not know. Besides, this is a local election for which I have been asked to speak here and there. I am not up for discussion in the local election; the voters rather will vote for or against the CDU whether Strauss put in an appearance or not. Surely they will have formed a judgment on the basis of my arguments, to the extent as they have heard me speak. Yet what matters is whether they will accept the candidates of the CDU for the kreis assemblies, the community councils, the city councils, the offices of mayor, and so forth. The character of a local election should not be falsified. I would say the same where the CDU is gaining points. This is why I say the same where the CDU might lose some points. This is up to the voter to decide. But there is no sense at all in making such pensive reflections.

[Question] The CSU Congress in Munich is just ahead. Hundreds, even thousands, of guests are expected in Munich Friday and Saturday to attend the CSU Congress. An advance reports say that the internal climate between the CDU and the CSU will be purged, that all difficulties will be settled. This is at odds, however, with a report that Ernst Albrecht and Gerhard Stoltenberg, whom you call northern hillbillies [nordlichter], have canceled their participation.

[Answer] It is not important that Munich become a large army camp in which all CDU politicians appear; a so-called giant exhibition of politicians. But if I am invited to a CDU convention here or there and cannot attend because of some important reason, you surely cannot say that I am against the CDU here or there. There will be so many CDU politicians coming as have never come before to attend our party congress. But Stoltenberg and Albrecht in particular have expressly declared their readiness to cooperate in the whole election-campaign team.

[Question] You just mentioned some important reason. In the case of one of the prime ministers it is his birthday which he wants to celebrate in a private circle.

[Answer] I fully appreciate that. I would do the same.

[Question] It is perhaps a disadvantage of the CSU that the congresses of other parties can always be held in the respective center of an election campaign. This is not possible in your case. After all, you cannot go to Bremen or Duesseldorf with your party congress. Do you, too, regard this as a considerable disadvantage?

[Answer] Not at all.

CSO: 3103

GENSCHER INTERVIEWED ON UN APPEARANCE, FRG-U.S. RELATIONS

Baden Baden Suedwestfunk Network in German 1145 GMT 30 Sep 79 DW

[Interview with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by reporter Wolfgang Wiedemeyer, date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Federal Foreign Minister, you used 4 days of your valuable time to represent the FRG at the United Nations world forum in New York. Was that just a diplomatic duty called for by protocol, or was there more to it?

[Answer] I am not one of those who practice modern pessimism vis-a-vis the United Nations. I consider the United Nations a significant international institution where the representatives of various states formulate the policy of their governments. I used the General Assembly once more for outlining the approach of the Federal Government to significant international problems. Simultaneously, however, the General Assembly also offers an opportunity to have talks with a number of foreign colleagues without the necessity of making time consuming visits or trips.

[Question] You have the ladies and gentlemen from near and faraway countries in the scenery of the United Nations, so to speak. How does that take place? Is an appointment made beforehand or do you do that ad hoc?

[Answer] Actually by previous appointment. UN representation of various states plan meetings weeks and sometimes months in advance, and it is not possible to comply with all the requests for talks we receive. In addition to wishes that are expressed for talks at particular General Assembly meetings, there are also the traditional meetings on the occasion of the General Assembly. My meetings with the U.S. secretary of state, the foreign minister of the USSR and my talk on multilateral issues with the GDR foreign minister and the meeting with the foreign ministers of the nine states of the European Community were such traditional meetings.

[Question] Did the talks with Foreign Minister Gromyko lack harmony, as was stated occasionally in the papers?

[Answer] It was a talk on important international issues. The term lacking in harmony is certainly wrong because discussion contacts are too close for that. But it does not mean either that we agreed on all problems, that cannot be expected.

[Question] Talks on the occasion of the United Nations assembly certainly are important, that is obvious, but the climax of such a visit for every foreign minister is his speech to the world forum. You spoke to the United Nations last Thursday and you made worldwide partnership the main point of your speech in a placative headline, so to speak. You said that this was our main aim. How do you mean that?

[Answer] I mean that we want to cooperate with all states of this world on the basis of equal rights. This is an offer by the Federal Republic of Germany, and it is simultaneously a firm statement that it, the Federal Republic of Germany, does not strive for predominance and that it objects to the striving of others for predominance. We want the states to negotiate with each other with equal rights, negotiate politically, economically and militarily. This is why we also defend ourselves against the striving for preponderance, because this results in imbalance and instability in world politics. Partnership-like cooperation also means respect for the national identity of other people and respect for their decision on the way they want to embark on. In other words, our relations are characterized by respect for the self-determination right of others and by the request for the self-determination right for the entire German nation, exactly like we act in respecting individual human rights.

[Question] Mr Minister, in your talk with Secretary of State Vance on the occasion of the General Assembly, much space was given to the issue of ratifying the American-Soviet SALT agreement on limiting strategic arms. Will your be returned with new insights regarding the SALT ratification process in Washington?

[Answer] This was the second meeting with the U.S. secretary of state during the ratification debate in the United States. We met in August this year in Washington and it turned out that both governments stressed in full agreement the necessity of SALT II ratification, a necessity with a view to the further development of detente in the world and further possibilities for arms limitation.

[Question] What would happen in your opinion if SALT were to fail in the U.S. Senate, say in October?

[Answer] I believe we ought to concentrate fully on promoting opportunities for ratification and not become involved with this problem. For good reason I pointed out in my speech to the United Nations the interest FRG has in ratification of SALT II.

[Question] If our interest in the coming about of SALT II is as great as you say, could we not then assist the Americans somehow or other? Maybe by comforting the sceptics in the Senate and by complying with the NATO demand to increase military expenditures in the Federal budget by 3 percent as a sign that we are serious about defense preparedness? The U.S. Administration was a bit irritated by our planned 1.5 percent increase for 1980. What else could be done do you think?

[Answer] First of all I believe that it is important indeed that all members of the Western alliance must prove their determination to make the necessary defense efforts. There is no doubt that the FRG has contributed considerably through its defense policy to the strengthening of the alliance and to making it able to cope with its tasks. The good state of equipment and training of the Bundeswehr is evidence enough. The expenditures by the FRG are also structurally particularly suited for promoting the alliance's defense capability. And yet all alliance partners, and I am not exempting the FRG, should consider again whether it is not possible to at least come properly close to the joint aim of 3 percent.

[Question] How could that be done? The 1980 budget has been completed.

[Answer] We will see whether certain additional expenditures will not be necessary that could be taken into consideration. That is a problem that will be discussed by the Federal Government, but there is no need to doubt the will of the Federal Government to comply with its duties. I think it must also be taken into consideration that the envisaged expenditures of the FRG are reliable with regard to their real increase because we have relatively stable prices in our country. Other member states with their price increase probably have a chance to comply with the real increase rates, but these calculations can very well collapse in the coming months.

[Question] Do you have in mind the possibility of correcting this in an addenda to the budget?

[Answer] This problem does not arise at the moment, we are discussing it at present in the Federal Government.

[Question] Federal Minister Genscher, I think I interpret you correctly as saying that disarmament talks will be successful only if the West negotiates from a position of strength. In other words, you would have to be in favor of an support the need for NATO to approve a program in December aimed at closing the arms gap under the slogan "improvement and innovation of medium-range missiles" that will advocate this potential. You will have to act in public and in discussions in support of this program to be adopted at NATO's December meeting in Brussels.

[Answer] Mr Wiedemeyer, I would not call it a position of strength, but we must safeguard a balance between the East and the West. The Soviet medium-range arms have achieved a qualitative jump to the advantage of the other

side. We are of the opinion that it is necessary to reestablish the balance. That can be done in various ways and that may explain why the Federal Government and its allies support the idea that simultaneously with a decision on closing the arms gap an arms control policy offer ought to be made to the other side. Both things must take place simultaneously so that the Eastern side will have a chance to deal with our arms control policy measures.

The federal chancellor said to the Bundestag on 4 July 1979 something to the effect that the volume involved in closing the arms gap will depend on the Soviet Union's reaction to the arms control policy suggestions of the West. In other words it is up to the Soviet Union to contribute something to arms limitation. This has nothing to do with the slogan "rearm in order to disarm." What is involved is safeguarding the balance. This can be safeguarded only if no doubts exist with regard to the Western alliance partners' determination to take the necessary steps to close the arms gap. Simultaneously the West must stress its preparedness to make arms control policy agreements in this field.

It is now up to the Western side to react to this double decision which, I hope, will be made in December. I am convinced that this is a significant problem concerning the alliance's ability to act, and I hope that all member states will be aware of the significance of this decision. Once this decision has been made--it will be a combination of a decision aimed at closing the arms gap together with an arms control policy offer--it will show the clear basic lines of our policy; safeguarding defense capability and insisting doggedly on arms control, arms limitation and disarmament.

It is now up to the Eastern side to respond in a constructive way to the suggestions of the West. Those who want to will achieve successes in matters of arms control, arms limitation and disarmament; they must leave no doubts about their determination to put forth their own efforts in the field of arms to safeguard Western security and the balance.

[Question] Will the double decision not be jeopardized by the stormy Russian attacks aimed at an increase in the medium-range potential?

[Answer] I think it is to the credit of the Federal Republic that it has pointed out this problem resulting from medium-range arms--these are strategic arms, Eurostrategic arms--that it has pointed out this problem in time. These problems were discussed on the occasion of Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev's visit to Bonn. The federal chancellor discussed these problems with Premier Kosygin and Foreign Minister Gromyko at a Moscow stop-over in June this year; I discussed it once more with Foreign Minister Gromyko in New York.

The honesty of the intentions of the Western states is known. By saying honest I mean the determination to close the arms gap and to do everything to promote arms control and arms limitation. I think it is important now that we can enter factual talks with the East.

[Question] Mr Minister, one hears so much that German-American relations are being jeopardized at present by various elements. Do you share this opinion?

[Answer] I am decidedly against this thesis. The trusting relations between the FRG and the United States remain intact. Full agreement exists with regard to important problems, as is usual among friends and partners. I consider it dangerous though for one to handle German-American relations in a lighthearted way, pretending that there are problems or discord. I tell you that these relations are strong, friendly and trusting, and one must not intentionally construe differences of opinion just because one is greedy for a sensation.

CSO: 3103

GENSCHER NOTES IMPORTANCE OF UN DISCUSSIONS

Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2145 GMT 27 Sep 79 DW

[Excerpts interview with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in New York by Rudolf Rohlinger--recorded]

[Text] [Question] [Rohlinger citing a statement by the Mexican prime minister during the latter's UN speech] Let us change but not sap the United Nations Organization. Is that practicable?

[Answer] Quite clearly the answer is yes. I believe it was a good thing that the Mexican prime minister counteracted the pessimism which many people harbor about the United Nations. The United Nations really is the best that the community of peoples can achieve. I believe that we should not depreciate the achievements of the United Nations or the questions that have been made points of international discussion here, including those that were solved.

[Question] This morning the federal foreign minister took the floor. The Mexican had spoken before him. Directly afterwards came the Pole. How can these speeches be judged, how can one react to another? Is this not but a delivery?

[Answer] It is not just a delivery. To begin with it is known in the case of a speech, such as that by the Mexican prime minister, that he will definitely say something about the energy dialog. I heard in many speeches that the energy issue had been put into the focus of attention. I, too, attached special importance to these energy issues. This already was a reaction. But it is also known, of course, that these speeches are prewritten and that, for this reason, the speaker cannot be very flexible when he presents it.

[Question] Let us now turn to this world energy program. Is this not asking too much of the United Nations?

[Answer] I would definitely consider it wrong if the United Nations were to refrain from taking up this issue. If we enter into such a dialog, and I

also expressed this in my speech, it is important to structuralize the dialog. This means dodging the danger of talking to get the ideas across in such a large mass assembly.

If you take a look at the experience gathered in the North-South dialog in particular, you will find that the results of the individual conferences organized by the United Nations have become increasingly tangible. In this respect, too, it is necessary to gather experiences jointly. The plenary meeting is scheduling special assemblies--and correctly so--to allow a very thorough discussion of specific issues. We have also had a special General Assembly on the disarmament issue. All this is necessary to allow a topic being debated in a General Assembly.

CSO: 3103

PRESS DISCUSSES GENSCHER'S UNITED NATIONS SPEECH

Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German to East and West Germany 0605 GMT
28 Sep 79 DW

[Press review on Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's speech given to the United Nations in New York]

[Text] MANNHEIMER MORGEN writes: Genscher can claim for himself to have outlined the German approach to detente policy in the United Nations in a credible and convincing way. That may be of particular importance due to the fact that the leading Western power, the United States, is dragging on under a government that is becoming always weaker without finding a response to urgent problems of world politics--arms control, the Mideast issue and last but not least the current Cuban crisis, just to name a few. The fact that the Federal Republic is therefore becoming something like a fixing point of Western positions was not intended by anybody in Bonn. But this stresses additionally the Federal Republic's increasing importance in the world organization.

FRUNKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes: Genscher never belonged to those politicians who considered the United Nations hardly anything more than a necessary evil one has to accept. On the contrary, Genscher and UN Ambassador Von Weizsaecker have been using this worldwide body for a long time to point out publicly and clearly the policy and the positions of the Federal Republic. Genscher was rather outspoken in speaking to the UN General Assembly now. It was not necessary to mention the names of the Soviet Union and the GDR when Genscher made it clear that the policy of detente was being taken seriously and that it is of a lasting character. Genscher's hint at the fact that turning up the arms spiral any further would not merely jeopardize peace but also curtail the capability of industrial states to help developing countries efficiently was not new, but this connection has hardly been stated so frankly.

RHEINISCHE POST of Duesseldorf deals with another aspect in this connection: It is regrettable that the German problem which is so urgent for all of us was playing an artificially curtailed part, if at all, in the UN speeches of representatives of the Federal Republic--this is almost a tradition now. Aside from reserved and formal standard formulas a German foreign minister apparently can discuss much rather in New York the self-determination right

of the Palestinians, than complain concretely about human rights violations--such as blocking human contacts between the Germans through the East Berlin threats of punishment.

NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG deals with the reproaches of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko who charged that the Federal Republic was acting against detente within the framework of NATO efforts aimed at closing the arms gap in the field of medium-range missiles. The paper notes: Federal Foreign Minister Genscher did not let himself be provoked in the world forum by his Soviet colleague Gromyko. With his reserved reply Genscher probably convinced the world parliament of the unfounded Soviet charges and insinuations.

CSO: 3103

'DPA' ANNOUNCES PROVISIONAL RESULTS OF LOCAL ELECTIONS

Hamburg DPA in German 2253 GMT 30 Sep 79 LD

[Text] Here are the provisional results of the North Rhine-Westphalian local government elections:

Entitled to vote	12,218,654	
Votes cast	8,561,386	(70.1/86.4)
Valid votes	8,430,000	
CDU	3,902,434	(46.3/46.1)
SPD	3,789,432	(44.9/45.5)
FDP	551,005	(6.5/7.1)
DKP	55,627	(0.7/0.6)
Center	3,492	(0.0/0.1)
Others	127,682	(1.5/0.6)

CSO: 3103

PROVISIONAL RESULTS OF LOCAL FRG ELECTIONS

Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German to East and West Germany 0605 GMT
1 Oct 79 DW

[Press review on FRG communal elections in North Rhine-Westphalia]

[Text] RHEINISCHE POST of Duesseldorf draws the following balance sheet: The North Rhine Westphalian communal elections do not indicate a uniform trend that would make this vote a good election. The citizens have differentiated between major political elections for the Landtag and the Bundestag and between elections for their communal council. Seven months will pass until the Landtag elections take place, and 12 will pass before the Bundestag elections. Because of this time element and because the results did not have one common denominator, the communal elections were not test elections.

WESTFAELISCHE NACHRICHTEN of Muenster notes: No new and significant trend of opinion has become evident. The great political camps have been stabilized. The CDU has obviously overcome the party quarrels well which involved the candidacy for chancellor. Communal elections have their specific rules. One could draw an erroneous conclusion by projecting yesterday's North Rhine Westphalian election results on the Landtag elections next spring or by even considering them an omen for the 1980 Bundestag elections.

NEUE RUHR-ZEITUNG of Essen comments: This Sunday was not a test for the 1980 election year. But it seems certain that the CDU could develop its position in the cities of the Rhineland and Muensterland; the SPD on the other hand developed its positions in the cities of the Ruhr area. Wherever the Greens (environmental protection groups) and independent groups appeared with determined action, they won over voters from the traditional parties. The consequences will soon be seen in some city halls.

KOELNISCHER RUNDSCHAU writes: The greatest surprise was the low participation in the elections. Those, however, who went to the polls voted very intelligently in some places. Traditional safe constituencies changed their owners. The news must be refreshing for every democrat that the land capital

Duesseldorf, for instance, does not always and necessarily have to be in the hands of the SPD. The fact that the FDP decided to form an alliance with the successful CDU in the Duesseldorf city hall will be a signal that could have some effect in the Landtag as well as beyond it.

DUESSELDORFER NACHRICHTEN deals with a special aspect in this connection: The question about whether the appearance of Franz Josef Strauss has paid off for the CDU is being answered differently according to the respective standpoint of the individual person. It is hard to assess the impulses emanating from Strauss. His appearance was too sporadic to make a prediction now on the actual market value he will have for the CDU/CSU union in this area that is of decisive importance for the next Bundestag elections. Hopes of the SPD and the FDP that Strauss would drive shocked voters into the arms of these parties did not materialize. Candidate for Chancellor Strauss is and remains in North Rhine Westphalia a quantity whose effect on the voter must still be investigated.

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG of Essen maintains: The appearance of Franz Josef Strauss indicated great future disputes in the Ruhr area. But the voters knew that Strauss did not want to become mayor of Essen or Herne. The rioters who attributed so much significance to his appearance everywhere in the Federal Republic had very little to do with the honest Social Democrats who are ruling the cities in our area. The absence of great problems under dispute did not produce a uniform trend in last Sunday's election results. That may be regrettable for the analyst who wants to make conclusions with regard to the basic mood of the voter. But it serves the benefit of local decisions.

CSO: 3103

BUNDESWEHR INSPECTOR DISCUSSES STATE OF ARMY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 1 Oct 79 pp 36-49 DW

[Interview with Bundeswehr Inspector General Juergen Brandt by unidentified reporter, date and place of interview not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Brandt, members of the General Staff have always been called leadership aides, the seventh inspector general suddenly calls them "leader [fuehrer] assistants"--"with circumspection," as he says.

Brandt: Yes sir, with circumspection; just as it has become fashionable--though linguistically wrong--to speak of officer's club instead of officer club, a wrong term has crept in here. The aide to the troop leader is the leader assistant.

SPIEGEL: So everything is quite harmless. The inspector general concerns himself with the cultivation of the language. He is not concerned, however, that he revives a dubious, historically stigmatized term.

Brandt: If you insist on understanding the term leader politically and even feel reminded of Adolf Hitler by this word, then this is a bias which you bring with you.

SPIEGEL: Strange. Nobody in the Bundeswehr feels that?

Brandt: This probably cannot be stated so categorically. All this has nothing in common with our term for a leader, meaning the troop leader. Anybody who knows his regulations actually ought not to feel any bias. The term troop leader has a precise definition in our army.

SPIEGEL: What we are interested in learning is how you visualize the soldier. Addressing officers of the General Staff you criticized the "presumptive thinking [anspruchdenken] predominant in our society" to which the soldier must not succumb. Hence, he should not be a citizen like everybody else but something special. This sounds rather elitist.

Brandt: It is not up to me to pass judgment on this society. This inspector general, who not only experienced but also helped mark the beginnings of the Bundeswehr, however, has never left any doubt about the fact that as far as he is concerned, the objective to be achieved is the citizen in uniform.

SPIEGEL: Being a citizen, the soldier not only has duties but also some rights. Are you claiming a special position for the soldier?

Brandt: No. The soldier, at least the professional soldier, has sworn to serve the Federal Republic of Germany loyally. He cannot restrict himself to just raising claims on the state. This is what I meant to say.

SPIEGEL: What tendencies toward claims do you actually propose to counteract in the Bundeswehr?

Brandt: Soldiers, too, more and more often are addicted to the inclination to raise claims first, for example to stay permanently at a station where they have built their little homes, and nevertheless carve a quick career for themselves. This rigidity will ultimately jeopardize the mission readiness of the armed forces.

SPIEGEL: Thus the ideal soldier ought to serve and keep his mouth shut, since you do not think much of his having a say. The supreme principal, you said in your speech to the Leadership Academy in Hamburg, "must determine what must be taught and learned and what must be performed later." The only thing lacking here is the order: "At ease, sit."

Brandt: This has nothing to do with "keeping the mouth shut." There is a permanent problem in the armed forces: A mere 10 percent of an officer age group is being trained for service in the general and admiral staff. Many of them believe that they have better professional chances, and they are envied by their comrades. I thought it was necessary to make it clear to the young men of the General Staff training course in Hamburg that they must be modest. The Bundeswehr offers them the chance to sharpen their intelligence for 21 months. This is a commitment. No claims can be derived from that. Somebody having completed a different training may become a general as well.

SPIEGEL: What we wanted to know was why the officer is not allowed to have a say in his training, whereas this say is taken for granted at universities?

Brandt: I am not quite sure whether the universities are so well advised if they make the course of training of a surgeon depend on the ideas of the first semesters.

SPIEGEL: Your remark shows that you claim for the Bundeswehr something different from what is usual in society.

Brandt: And for good reason. Please do not overlook the fact that in an army, the forming of the will by nature is done from the top to the bottom and not vice versa, as in our society, and a democracy. An army just cannot announce each time when obedience needs to prevail and when it does not.

SPIEGEL: Naturally obedience must prevail in an army. The question is only why codetermination should be harmful in the leadership academy. After all, it is its mission to motivate the officers, too.

Brandt: I am perfectly willing to discuss motivation with you, but if I had any need to use the principle of codetermination at the academy to motivate captains and navy lieutenants, then we have sent the wrong people there.

SPIEGEL: They should not be motivated as to their choice of professions but for the proper sense of their mission. The cue: Citizen in uniform.

Brandt: My problem is a different one. What I meant to convey through my speech basically was that modesty and restraint are necessary, particularly for those who wear the red collar patches of the general staffers since otherwise a split in the officer corps would threaten.

SPIEGEL: We understand that codetermination at the academy is dispensable as far as you are concerned. Are you prepared, then, to grant more rights to have a say to the trusted representatives of the soldiers?

Brandt: This calls for some pondering because the young soldiers joining us today are different from those who came 20 years ago. They have been in an enterprise in which they had an enterprise council, in which there was a personnel representation; or at a school where they had a student government. And now suddenly they are plunged into a world which is structured entirely differently. Rank insignia are worn, there is a different salute, and a man is addressed by rank and name.

SPIEGEL: ...Pardon a naive question: What good does all this do anyway?

Brandt: In our era the sole purpose is to make it clear to each soldier that he--be he a volunteer or a draftee--is now living in a system based on orders and obedience.

SPIEGEL: And he would not notice it otherwise?

Brandt: It is impossible to say that obedience is applicable this morning but will not be this afternoon, the order applies now but will not in the case of hostilities. This must become a foregone conclusion in order to insure that it will work in case of hostilities and that the political control down to the last soldier has been insured at all times already in peace times.

SPIEGEL: But the right of trusted representatives to have a say is not at odds with your principles?

Brandt: No, not at all. The military leader is not being deprived of anything by that. Nobody will believe that trusted representatives can determine the duty schedule, for example, let alone exert influence on operational orders.

SPIEGEL: When joining your organization young people enter into a strange world, they are not supposed to have their say but to receive orders and serve. They might perhaps be allowed some day to become a leader's aide and another such antiquated idea, they are to "seek" their "honor in nameless performance"--this is what you said alluding to the world of Colonel General Seeckt.

Brandt: Especially in our society where names, media and the public play such a great role I reminded the leader's aides that they are acting under the responsibility of the military leader. If he leads his division to the front he cannot say that my General Staff officer is to be blamed for the death of soldiers because he suggested the wrong plan.

SPIEGEL: And you think that it is still possible today to make do quite innocently with the honor concepts of Colonel General Seeckt?

Brandt: Some of them are surely antiquated. Yet I doubt whether Boell's book entitled "The End of an Official Trip" contains a passage, for example, which can also be used in the military sphere.

SPIEGEL: A high-ranking naval officer has said that the Bundeswehr is threatening to become "a politically brainless battle machine." It has excellent arms technologists, tradesmen of war, but too few soldiers who know why they are serving and what they are defending. The fathers of internal leadership most probably did not visualize it this way.

Brandt: There is some truth to that. But you do want an interview, and this is why I have to say some more....

SPIEGEL: If it serves the ascertainment of the truth....

Brandt: ...At my inauguration I said that the soldiers who serve compulsorily in this army are perfectly aware of what needs to be done; they can handle their equipment. And if you watch them in exercises you will even see that they are living up to their tasks with commitment. Inherent in this commitment is a bit of internal leadership. It is not by coincidence. A tank driver during an exercise often sits in his "Leopard" until he is close to sliding off his seat. Most people will probably sense more than know why he does that. This is indeed true.

SPIEGEL: A fatal admission. How can something like that be explained?

Brandt: If you ask me, I joined the Bundeswehr 29 years ago because I hoped that this state would become a state for which it would be worthwhile to work. I think that therefore we ought to make it clear to the young people who join us that this is a country that offers liberties, that offers freedom and social security and that it is worthwhile to act for that.

SPIEFEL: That cannot be made plausible to a soldier?

Brandt: First of all it is more complicated than it was previously. At such times, I mean 1914, when the young conscripts in full misunderstanding of what they would have to face, were putting flowers in the muzzles of their guns, there may have been another and maybe more casual relation with regard to the country for the sake of which they faced dangers.

SPIEGEL: And today?

Brandt: I cannot fully explain the phenomenon either. We still seem to live in a situation that is maybe typical for our country or typical for industrial societies. At any rate commitment today is expressed in a more subdued way, and the state today seems to be more abstract. We in the Bundeswehr may possibly have made the mistake of not having tried earlier to explain it in as uncomplicated a way as possible.

SPIEGEL: The state is a rather abstract term which has a stigma attached to it. But freedom and justice are values worth acting for one would think.

Brandt: They must be experienced. And that is not necessarily the case with the 18-year-olds who join us. For those who have not experienced injustice and lack of freedom it seems to me that man only becomes aware of the things that have been endangered.

SPIEGEL: Most of all the images of the enemy are probably not correct any more. The soldier can hardly be frightened by the battle cry: The Russians are coming. At that time, in 1914, there were clear images of the enemy.

Brandt: The soldier in the Bundeswehr is not supposed to have an image of an enemy. Creating the image of an enemy means education in hatred which is tantamount to ideological pressure. We do not want to have that.

SPIEGEL: What do the soldiers learn in courses for state citizens (staats-buergerunterricht)? They ought to learn there why they are soldiers.

Brandt: I would like to cite the federal minister of defense: What the school has not achieved in 13 years the Bundeswehr cannot achieve either in 15 months, regardless of whether we have 14 or 40 hours of courses. But one thing is correct, for years we have been handling this problem by the wrong method. Therefore, we have the school of internal leadership in Koblenz the task of looking for ways as to how we could approach the conscripts in a more direct way: Why am I a soldier? What am I supposed to defend bravely and whom am I to serve loyally?

SPIEGEL: Form Federal President Scheel said in a speech that he believes that one of the reasons for the displeasure of the soldiers is the fact that we have no casual approach to rearmament.

Brandt: I talked to him about that when I made a courtesy visit to him in January. What was worrying the former federal president was the fact that parts of our society obviously still have not overcome the displeasure about rearmament. He said that in certain circles it was still considered fashionable to ignore the Bundeswehr and rearmament.

I can complain about that, but I am unable to change it alone. That is the business of those who have decided that we need the Bundeswehr.

SPIEGEL: The public relations work of the Bundeswehr shows how little it can cope with its own problems. Scheel said jokingly that it seems to be a "sportive pastime enterprise that offers an opportunity to drive around in the water, in the air and on the ground with the most modern technical gadgets." It was not mentioned at all what this association is actually there for, namely to avoid wards and if need be to wage them.

Brandt: If we were to have such public relations work as you just described, the periodical you have the honor of representing here would be the first to make more than critical statements.

SPIEGEL: And that is why you do not do such things?

Brandt: The influence of DER SPIEGEL does not go that far. But I fear that these ads were formulated that way because the public relations experts tell us that only in this way--and in no other way--is it possible to obtain recruits. It is also customary to name a detergent "general."

SPIEGEL: Heroes and criminals belong to the tradition of the Bundeswehr--but they are not very suited as models for a peacetime army.

Brandt: No, no, in the history of the German military there are heroes and criminals, not in the tradition of the Bundeswehr. Tradition means to select something from the exemplary performance of German citizens, something that is worth being passed on in an understandable way.

SPIEGEL: Tradition also means culling out examples that would serve as deterrents.

Brandt: No, no, I always think about the technical sergeant of a Bundeswehr engineer unit who died when he threw himself on a live hand grenade in order to save the soldiers who were subordinated to him. The Bundeswehr neglected, unfortunately, to name a barracks after that sergeant.

SPIEGEL: You can still see to that. Scheel had the special wish to name a barracks after a Nobel Peace Prize winner, Brandt Barracks maybe.

Brandt: Yes, namely Willy Brandt Barracks, not Jergen Brandt Barracks. But one must say one thing: not merely the Bundeswehr has difficulties with history and tradition, our entire people have. When I got married I lived in Kiel in Graf Spee Street; it was named after Admiral Graf Spee. Later on

an explanation was added to the street's name: famous surgeon at Kiel University. Now that we view matters more casually again, the Graf Spee Street is named A. after the admiral and B. after the famous surgeon.

SPIEGEL: Why do you defend yourself so energetically against acknowledging criminal traditions in the military?

Brandt: Tradition has nothing to do with crimes. You can read in this year's July issue of the periodical INFORMATION FÜR DIE TRUPPE [Information for the Troops] that we are dealing with this subject. A historical article is carried there written under the impression of the holocaust series that deals with the connection between the final solution and the action of the Wehrmacht. It says frankly in the article that not just the SS is guilty, the Wehrmacht leadership, too, returned home from the Third Reich with some guilt. It was not always natural to say such things frankly.

SPIEGEL: Strange enough.

Brandt: This has nothing to do with tradition, much rather with mastering the past. But this, too, is not an isolated problem of the Bundeswehr. It is a problem of our society.

SPIEGEL: You must still deal with the handling of some current problems. The many service hours of soldiers--more than 70 percent of the soldiers work 50 hours a week--create problems for you, as you said, problems that are as grave as the balance of strength between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In the White Book you announced a small financial compensation. Is that all?

Brandt: No. I urged all military superiors--I hesitate to use the word leader [führer]....

SPIEGEL: ...Go ahead....

Brandt: ...To handle the time of their subordinates more carefully and not to act according to the method: Service is service, and schnaps is schhaps, and I am the one who says that service means. On the other hand, however, the public must not believe that soldiers are cheap manpower who are ready at hand, be it as helpers in a horse show or as workers to remove market stalls when Christmas is over.

SPIEGEL: The White Book just says about the assignment and promotion bottleneck of noncoms and officers that solutions are being sought. You know very well that in the meantime frustration is gaining ground in the army and comradeship is going down the drain because everybody only has his career in mind.

Brandt: The spirit is depressed not just because of the assignment bottleneck. In addition we run the risk that there will be no proper relation

between age and function. You cannot lead a company any more once you are 48. That will have an effect on the combat preparedness of the Bundeswehr.

SPIEGEL: If things continue as they are now, 75 percent of the officers will be 40 years old by 1990. Grandfathers will then have to understand their grandchildren, train them and guide them. How is that supposed to work?

Brandt: That cannot work at all. I discussed this problem with the three faction chairmen of the Bundestag, because this must be solved by the politicians.

SPIEGEL: And what came of it?

Brandt: They told me that their factions will support me. And they knew what I was talking about.

SPIEGEL: What do you suggest?

Brandt: There are several possibilities for finding a solution. Each one costs money, much money. But I must see to it again that the company chief is about 30. If he is over 40 we will have situations that would better fit into a Vienna operetta than into a modern army.

SPIEGEL: Frustration and discontent in the army are rather often being drowned in alcohol.

Brandt: Says DER SPIEGEL.

SPIEGEL: You can read it elsewhere, too, and if you travel with the Federal Railway Company over the weekend you can experience it yourself.

Brandt: I would like to register my doubts that this problem pertains specifically to the armed forces. There is drinking everywhere. We are dealing with state citizens in uniform. When not on duty they can follow their personal inclinations. Strictly speaking I cannot prevent soldiers from drinking excessively outside their duty hours if they want to. I must see to it, however, that their superiors realize that they have educational and leadership tasks outside duty hours, tasks they must fulfill without insulting the soldiers. By the way, alcohol is involved in only every 10th case of violations on duty.

SPIEGEL: As of 1990, long after you are retired and growing flowers, there will be too few conscripts. Will women need to put on the uniform?

Brandt: I see no difficulties at all there. The physician who treats me is female lieutenant colonel and she looks nice in civilian clothes as well as in uniform. But I would have something against women carrying out military combat action.

SPIEGEL: Women do not shoot, if at all they are terrorists?

Brandt: You are trying to say that this is an outdated idea of the inspector general. I really cannot imagine a woman as a fighter-bomber pilot or the chief of a gun crew. I have a mental block there. I do not consider it necessary either.

SPIEGEL: Women belong in the church, the kitchen or the orderly room?

Brandt: My French colleague told me 3 weeks ago that women are working very successfully as flight controllers in the military field. Why should that be impossible in our country? In the meantime women have conquered a number of professions for themselves--with Alice Schwarzer or without her. I would be prepared to open all profession where women can be found today to women in the Bundeswehr.

SPIEGEL: You are probably the last inspector general who was still an officer in World War II. The Bundeswehr will face a change in generation in the coming years. What does that mean?

Brandt: You are right. This process has been under way for a long time. Of the 218 generals 56 have grown up in the Bundeswehr. This army will soon have no soldiers other than those who know only the standards of peace.

SPIEGEL: Have the "self-knitted" as they are called in the Bundeswehr, a more casual relationship with regard to tradition and the past? Do they think more casually about war, do they consider it as possible.

Brandt: With this question you follow the pattern that soldiers generally are responsible for military conflicts. Of course there is a difference whether somebody must make decisions whose scars from the last war still hurt, or whether it is somebody who has no scars at all. But not the soldiers decide on peace or war, the politicians do.

SPIEGEL: General, we thank you for this talk.

CSO: 3103

FINNS SIGN AGREEMENT TO BUILD COPPER SMELTING PLANT FOR BULGARIANS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 7 Sep 79 p 14

[Text] On Thursday Finland and Bulgaria signed an agreement on the largest single purchase ever involving the two countries. Finland will deliver a copper smelting plant worth 200 million marks to Bulgaria. The value of Finnish exports to Bulgaria has increased 69 percent this year. The agreement on the new smelting plant was signed in Plovdiv in connection with Minister Esko Rekola's visit to Bulgaria.

The copper smelting plant has a capacity of 130,000 tons of copper a year and will use Bulgarian copper ore as a raw material. The smelting plant will be located in the city of Srednogie and will be in operation by 1984.

AOR Industries Oy, an export company founded by A. Ahlstrom Oy, Outokumpu Oy and Rauma-Repola Oy, is responsible for the delivery.

In the course of his visit Minister Esko Rekola has had talks with among others Bulgarian Foreign Minister Hristo Hristov about developing economic cooperation between the two lands. In the first 7 months of this year Finnish exports to Bulgaria rose 69 percent compared to the same period last year.

In the same period imports from Bulgaria rose 36 percent. Finland exports mainly wooden and metal products, importing agricultural products along with machinery and apparatus from Bulgaria.

Minister Rekola also helped open the 25th international trade fair in Plovdiv during his visit. Fourteen Finnish firms are represented at the fair.

Minister Rekola's visit ends on Friday.

6578

CSO: 3109

COMMUNISTS ATTACK SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' REVALUATION DEBATE TACTICS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 24 Aug 79 pp 3, 5

[Text] The failure of revaluation has led to a quarrel between the two left-wing parties. Like SAK [Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions] both are disappointed that revaluation plans were canceled but while the Social Democratic party committee blamed the center parties and said they showed an inability to make decisions necessary for the national economy as a whole the chairman of the Communist Party, Aarne Saarinen, criticized the prime minister and the Social Democrats for their package argument and demand for a separate solution which ruled out revaluation.

The government must find new ways to check inflationary pressures and create the conditions needed for income policy solutions according to a statement issued yesterday by the Social Democratic party committee.

The budget debate which will start next week occupies a key position, according to the statement.

According to the Social Democrats the threat of inflation has increased since the government was forced to rule out revaluation.

The Social Democrats feel that in the discussions on revaluation the center parties displayed an inability to make decisions that are necessary for the national economy as a whole.

Saarinen: Koivisto's Behavior Incomprehensible

Communist chairman Aarne Saarinen sharply criticized the government's decision to abandon revaluation. He said Thursday that the decision had led to astonishment and widespread dissatisfaction within the left wing.

The entire left wing had called for a revaluation and the prime minister had also said this was needed. Now however the prime minister supports the decision to abandon revaluation. This is even more surprising when

we know that center groups, industry and the Bank of Finland, albeit reluctantly and with certain restrictions, were giving the green light to the project, Saarinen said.

Saarinen feels these restrictions should have been clarified. He stressed that not even the People's Democrats were willing to pay an exorbitant price to meet these requirements. Prime Minister Koivisto underlined that the price appeared to be too high, Saarinen pointed out.

"The Social Democrats explained that the package was awaiting the decision of the government. What package?

"The state recommendations for next year and the bills concerning them do constitute a substantial package. So there was every reason to take up the revaluation issue in connection with the budget as the People's Democratic group in parliament suggested. Especially since the issue has stood open for months now and there is very little time left before the budget debate," Saarinen pointed out.

Government Uncertain

The actions of the government to date have been uncertain and erratic and the government decision did not improve the picture, at least not in left-wing eyes, Saarinen said.

But he pointed out that the government has many more important problems to solve.

Improved employment opportunities and family policies, improved social insurance, increased real incomes for those on low incomes and increased consumer demand make up a sizable package.

"We hope that the Social Democrats at least will not produce obstacles or indulge in separate solutions as they did with regard to revaluation," Saarinen said.

Hanninen: SAK Draws Own Conclusions

SAK deputy chairman Olavi Hanninen (communist) said of the revaluation decision that it was unfortunate in terms of checking inflation. He said in Helsinki Thursday that there was no reason to magnify the results of revaluation but that it would have helped to check inflation in the present situation.

Since the non-socialist groups in the government did not care for the SAK revaluation proposal but felt it was better to allow inflation to increase unchecked the trade union movement is forced to draw its own conclusions.

However the union movement will not remain inactive in dealing with the growth of inflation.

The opponents of revaluation will be running into the effects of this, at the latest in connection with income negotiations, Hanninen said.

6578

CSO: 3109

REVALUATION ALONE WON'T SOLVE TIMBER INDUSTRY'S TROUBLES

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 23 Aug 79 p 4

[Commentary by Rafael Paro]

[Text] The outsize indebtedness of the timber industry greatly influences the economic decision-making process in our country. In the long run the problem of this industry's profitability can hardly be solved by currency policy measures. One can only relieve the symptoms, according to Rafael Paro.

The discussion of principle in recent months and the political tactics concerning the question of a possible increase in the value of the Finnish mark demanded more precise definitions of the various positions. Many important statements were made and a number of interesting reports received more widespread distribution than is usually the case. More clarifying material is anticipated, including material on the situation of the timber industry in a more long-term perspective. It is expected that a study made at the request of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Central Organization of the Finnish Timber Industry will be published soon.

With increasingly weighty documentation and argumentation the timber industry has pointed out that it cannot afford to lose a single mark through revaluation or other measures. Or to put it another way, the timber industry has much more serious problems than revaluation.

There has been a declining trend in profitability ever since the 1960's. Despite temporary gains the curve -- based on 5-year averages -- clearly points downward. "Our problem," say spokesmen for the timber industry, "is to break this downward trend. And as long as we are struggling with this problem we cannot accept a revaluation of a few percentage points that would further erode our profits by several hundred million marks."

In a well-documented article in this paper the managing director of the Tammerfors factories of G. A. Serlachius Oy, Claes Henrik de la Chapelle,

pointed out that the only chance the Finnish timber industry has of weathering the crisis in which it has been for some time is to gradually reduce its indebtedness which in practice must be accomplished by means of a higher degree of self-financing, in other words substantially improved profitability.

If one wants to one can also view the matter in such a way as to consider the demand for a flexible foreign exchange policy and the problem of the profitability of the Finnish timber industry as quite separate issues. Behind some of the statements of the timber industry one can detect the idea that the problems of this branch of industry can no longer be solved by exchange rate policies. The symptoms can be relieved by a depreciation of the mark or by refraining from increasing its value -- if other indications should give rise to such measures.

The figures presented by managing director de la Chapelle indicate that the group "other Finnish industries" had a cash flow of 10.1 percent of sales, a level that can quite simply be regarded as the minimum. The figures for the Finnish and Swedish timber industries were 3.5 and 5.7 percent respectively. In the United States a cash flow of around 15 percent is regarded as normal. De la Chapelle predicted that profitability this year will improve by only a few percentage points. This means that the Finnish timber industry will not get up to a 10 percent cash flow even this year and the net result will be close to 0.

By pointing to the large costs of indebtedness the industry can dismiss the allegations of large excess profits, especially during the economic boom of 1973-74, as pure fairy tales. This industry has been burdened by its debts for many years and has shown poor results.

The terminology in this context has been interesting. In general the timber industry has been reluctant to speak plainly about a bad situation. The industry has simply mentioned difficulties. It is obvious that there have been considerations of prestige behind the way in which the general public has been informed of the true facts of industry profitability.

At best we are now experiencing a change in attitude. Instead of stressing the stiff foreign competition and the need for continual devaluations as well as flexibility with regard to wage and basic price drift -- in order to gain labor peace in market settlements -- the timber industry is now dealing with the question of its own profitability and may even be somewhat appalled by what is uncovered in the more long-term perspective.

The excessive indebtedness is the most significant element. What we want to know now is how things got this way. And it is even more important to find out how the timber industry can get away from this declining trend, not just temporarily but in the long run. Is it true -- as some have suggested -- that the timber industry paid for the increased prosperity in our country which is the reason the industry is now up to its ears in debt?

How about investments? How well-considered have they been if the results are as poor as is now reported? Have debts been resorted to in part to avoid the tax guillotine?

If in conclusion one can determine that the debts of the Finnish timber industry are excessive and have long exceeded the level normally regarded as being the permissible ceiling with regard to the solidity of the business this question presents itself. Should this branch of industry be the one to dictate foreign exchange policy in this country?

In other words one can discuss whether the industry should have such a dominant position. The question is merely rhetorical since the timber industry is responsible for half our exports and is also behind a large part of the "new exports" we have had since World War II. Its dominant role is obvious. The eroded solidity of the timber industry actually means, paradoxically enough, that its position of weakness is actually a position of strength with regard to important tax, income policy and monetary decisions in our country.

Who should pay the debts of the timber industry? Unlike many other branches of industry the timber industry has stood on its own feet without extensive state support. The industry itself has felt that it was being milked dry by society as a whole. The idea that the timber industry by means of an enormous increase in profitability could reorganize itself and achieve a higher degree of self-financing assumes such high goals in the way of cost reductions and possibly reductions in the nation's currency policy as well that one may well wonder if this can be done within the framework of what is politically possible in this country.

6578

CSO: 3109

STATE COULD DO MORE TO HELP TIMBER INDUSTRY

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 30 Aug 79 p 2

[Commentary by Claes Henrik de la Chapelle]

[Text] Under the title, "Revaluation Alone Won't Solve Timber Industry's Troubles," Rafael Paro analyzed on the editorial page of HUFVUDSTADSBLADET on 23 August the situation of the timber industry, making several references to my article in the paper the day before.

I found the views presented in the article very objective and the author of the article undeniably hit the nail on the head in his presentation of the problem. How did things get to this point and how can the timber industry get out of this deep crisis?

Our investigations show that the excessive debts of the timber industry depend both in absolute terms and in comparison with competitive nations on a profitability that was much too low over a longer period of time, most of the 1960's and the entire decade of the 1970's. In my contribution to the debate published 22 August 1979 I described some of the results of our study and it should be mentioned that there is great agreement here with the results of other similar studies.

Since profitability has been very low in our country we may ask what the reason for this might be. In a speech I gave several years ago in which I discussed the results of a comparative study of the timber industry in Finland and other lands I listed 10 business prerequisites where we were in a poorer situation than other countries, notably Sweden and the United States, and since this list is still valid I will repeat it here:

1. The price of the major raw material, e.g. wood (the price as such, periodic shortages of pulp wood leading to the use of sawmill stock and the Finnish timber industry's inadequate supply of forest stands).
2. The relatively insignificant domestic market (greater variations in demand and price on export markets).

3. Finland's unfavorable geographic location, higher transport costs in comparison with our western neighbors.
4. Inflation. The overvaluation of the Finnish mark in the periods prior to devaluations.
5. State measures. Negative: export duties, market taxes, price equalization duties, etc. A lack of positive measures.
6. Interest costs, a high degree of indebtedness plus higher average interest rates in the historical perspective.
7. Immoderate taxation of individual stock ownership, making it difficult to achieve financing through issuing stocks.
8. Sales taxes on investments.
9. Labor market disturbances.
10. Lower productivity which considerably reduces the cost advantage Finland has in the form of lower wage levels.

The effects of the business factors listed above have naturally varied considerably through the years and have not necessarily represented a handicap in comparison with all competitive countries but on the average their negative effect on the profitability of our timber industry has been significant.

On some points the negative business conditions are affected by external factors or by circumstances no one can really control. But with regard to several basic conditions the state authorities play a role of decisive significance. The most important of these are the export duties, market taxes and so forth with which the timber industry has been weighed down over the years. We have figured out that 35-40 percent of the total debt of the Serlachius concern could be attributed to these taxes (i.e. the portion not refunded). This figure may vary somewhat in other companies but since the law has been the same for all -- with the exception of some relief measures for industries in northern Finland -- a relatively large share of the indebtedness of all companies must be a result of these extra taxes. Since the debt burden has risen constantly we are dealing here with the problem of interest piled upon interest. In Sweden the industry has not been saddled with similar export taxes since the first half of the 1930's and as far as I know extra taxes of this type have not occurred in countries like the United States, Canada, Germany and England. Here is one example to illustrate this matter. In the mid-1960's the profitability of the Finnish timber industry was very weak due to the obvious overvaluation of the mark. After the big devaluation of October 1967 the industry should have been given a chance to compensate for the poor years before

the devaluation through increased profitability and a greater degree of self-financing. Instead the industry was hit with 630 million marks in export duties and market taxes in the period 1967-70 -- a very big economic setback considering the currency value at the time. If we subtract the portion of the debt burden due to these state impositions the starting point for the necessary reorganization steps, primarily a reduction of the debt burden, would be entirely different.

In his article Rafael Paro asked who should pay the timber industry's debts. Up to now the industry has stood on its own feet without extensive state support.

In several of our competitive countries, among them Sweden but also including countries like England and France, the state has supported the industry through investments and favorable loans.

Corresponding measures in Finland have been modest in size and have gone almost entirely into the development sector. An improvement in this respect would be desirable of course but personally I feel the timber industry should not question its past policy of not requesting general state subsidies. The outsize debt burden must be worked off through improved profitability and a higher degree of self-financing. But this will be possible only if the basic conditions for our activity are made tolerable. We have every right in light of the economy of the entire nation as well as of our own to demand that with regard to various taxes and other business conditions the state authorities create the same basic conditions as those enjoyed by our competitors in other countries. Above all our status as milking cow for the entire population must be ended and negative subsidies such as export duties, market taxes and the like must be abolished.

6578

CSO: 3109

PCF DEPUTIES MEET, PREPARE FOR FALL PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 19 Sep 79 p 3

[Text of remarks by PCF secretary general Georges Marchais and PCF Central Committee member Charles Fiterman at 18 Sep PCF Deputies Press Conference at L'hotel Matignon as reported by Magali Jauffret and Michel Strulovici: "Three Times No to the 'Consensus'"]

[Text] The 86 communist deputies met yesterday for a study conference to prepare for the autumn parliamentary session. An exceptional meeting in response to an exceptional situation. This opening of parliament does not resemble any other. It coincides with the third year of the Barre administration. Its political record is the result of a strategy of social regression and national decline. The living and working conditions of the wage earners and of the vast mass of the French are becoming tougher all the time.

For the communist deputies, this session of parliament was to be more combative than ever before. In rejecting the consensus which Mr Giscard d'Estaing has called for, they are seeking to achieve the satisfaction of particularly strongly-felt demands. This is a matter of forcing some immediate solution to the painful problems faced by thousands of families out of this administration. The idea was to find out how the communist elected representatives could in the best possible way contribute to the development of the new union for the struggle, step by step.

Another special aspect of the meeting, which was attended by the party's secretary general, was this: After a lengthy exchange of views on the political situation, the communist delegation walked from the National Assembly to Matignon Palace. The delegation wanted to hand the prime minister a letter calling for the early convening of the Assembly (which normally is to start work on 2 October) so that the administration might explain its economic and social policy and so that there may be a vote on that.

But how far will this administration go? As they arrived in the vicinity of Matignon Palace, on Varenne Street, the communist deputies, wearing their sashes, were jostled and molested by a line of Mobile Guardsmen. After the elected representatives of the people had forced the obstacle, the delegation was received and delivered its letter, not without having protested against the reception it had gotten. A little bit later they declared: "As the national elected representatives of a party representing millions of French, we protest against the intolerable attack upon democracy which Mr Barre has launched and we also protest his contempt for parliament."

The mission to Matignon Palace was followed by a press conference in whose course George Marchais had an opportunity to outline the opinion of the PCF [French Communist Party] on the TV presentation given by the president of the republic the night before. Opening the press conference, the group leader, Robert Ballanger, emphasized the "insupportable hardships imposed upon many homes." "One can only blame the failure or lack of foresight on the part of the administration or the prime minister," he said. "Their policy is a disaster for France but this is a class policy, a coherent and determined policy, in the service of the industrial and financial corporations that dominate France." Touching on the orientation "toward European and Atlantic integration," he noted that "the government has been unable to obtain the popular consensus which it wanted." He also disclosed the failure to attain the objective of weakening the PCF, a both Giscardian and socialist objective.

Analyzing the budget for 1980, he expressed his indignation that taxes were going to be heavier on those with low and middle incomes whereas "the tax privileges of the big corporations and the very rich remain intact."

After having denounced this budget, which "is not a budget for recovery," he touched on "the attacks on democracy," "the vast offensive against individual and group liberties."

"Our main concern," he concluded, "is to fight. This aggressive and authoritarian administration is at the same time a weak administration because its policy does not have the confidence of the majority of the French. It is possible to cause the antisocial and antidemocratic policy of the Giscardian administration to fail."

Surrounded by Robert Ballanger, chairman of the communist parliamentary delegation in the National Assembly, as well as Andre Lajoinie, deputy chairman, Gisele Moreau, Charles Fiterman, and Marcel Rigout, George Marchais answered questions from newsmen at the end of the special study meeting held by the communist deputies.

[Question] What is it that strikes you in the presentation given by the president of the republic last night?

Georges Marchais: The thing that strikes me in the address delivered by the president of the republic is that laborious plea for an unavowable policy. It is unavowable because it is entirely in the service of the multinational corporations and the rich.

This presentation by the president of the republic is made up only of countertruths. Let me give you some examples.

"A Dangerously False Idea"

First of all we have the oil problem.

During the recent period of time, numerous position statements have emerged not only from personalities or newspapers but also from qualified organizations in line with an idea which we, communists, have been the only ones to advocate since 1973, that is, that petroleum is in no way responsible for the crisis. In its annual report, the GATT states:

"The facts refute the dangerously false idea according to which the rise in petroleum prices was one of the main causes for the resumption of inflation and the expected deterioration in the unemployment situation." Now, the president of the republic continued to keep talking about petroleum.

He said, for example, that petroleum cost us 30 billions. And he addressed himself to the farmers, saying: "This is as if one were to take your annual harvest." And to the workers of the Renault Monopoly he said: "This is as if one were to take your output for one year."

I could continue like the president of the republic. I will remind you that, on 2 August, I calculated the cost of the measures taken by Mr Barre, a cost which comes to 60 billions for the workers. This means that Messrs Barre and Giscard d'Estaing are taking from the farmers two annual harvests and, from the Renault workers, the output of two years coming from the Monopoly.

I would add that, if one carefully looks at the figures given by the president of the republic, one realizes that he has deceived public opinion. He says that petroleum will cost France 30 billions more. When? Right away? At the end of the year? Next year? Giscard d'Estaing does not tell us. Now, during the first half of 1979, compared to the first half of 1978, oil prices remained stable. And the increase for the entire year 1979, compared to the increase last year, will not exceed 15 billions. Perhaps even less; that will to some extent depend on how the dollar performs and, on the other hand, on the development of the franc due to the acceleration of inflation which we are witnessing now.

The fact is that the petroleum bill runs the risk of going up by 30 billions, as compared to 1978, only in 1980—not before. There is a truth that the president of the republic should have expressed.

I might add that he maintained total silence on the profits made by the oil companies and especially by those established in France—profits which precisely come to at least F30 billion. Now that is an amount we can get something out of yet.

Moreover, the purchasing power represented by their petroleum earnings for those countries—considering the price rise on products which we sell them and the decline of the dollar—keeps going down the moment they decide to raise petroleum prices.

It is consequently lamentable to see the president of the republic stubbornly leading the oil cause which I am naturally once again ready to debate on television with Mr Barre.

Inequalities Getting Worse

Here is the second countertruth: The president of the republic said verbatim that there was no increase in the tax pressure. That is wrong. It suffices to examine the draft budget—as we did this morning—to realize that the increase in the tax burden will be quite real and that taxes will not be distributed in the fairest fashion—contrary to what Mr Giscard d'Estaing says. Certain newspapers—including L'HUMANITE—recently published studies showing that workers in the most disadvantaged categories will pay relatively more in taxes than those who draw high salaries.

Third countertruth: Mr Giscard d'Estaing talked about the reduction of inequalities. That is wrong. We have already seen what that means in connection with taxation. Likewise, the SMIC [Interoccupational Minimum Growth Wage] lost its value as compared to the average wage and its purchasing power dropped because of the price rise.

Consequently, those who were particularly disadvantaged continue to be so.

There is one last countertruth that is worth disclosing: The one concerning the growth rate. Mr Giscard d'Estaing talked about an average growth rate of more than 3 percent for these last several years. You will not find any economist who will defend that idea. Our growth rate as a matter of fact is less than 3 percent. It is around 2.7 percent.

This therefore is a laborious and painful plea which naturally required recourse to countertruths in an attempt to deceive the French.

The president of the republic said only one thing that was just and true. That came in connection with his assertion to the effect that there are organizations that reject the social consensus. As the journalists realized, he was thinking about the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] and the PCF.

I will say this once again to French women and French men: No, no, and no—three times no! The PCF will never agree to such a policy! That would mean tying this country's workers to an evil policy designed to lower their wages, to increase unemployment, to reduce their rights and liberties—all of this only to the benefit of the big capitalist monopolies.

Neither Error, Nor Failure

I, for my part, do not follow the line of reasoning pursued by Francois Mitterrand. The policy of Giscard d'Estaing and Barre is not a sum of "errors" or "failures." This is a deliberate policy. Besides, go and ask Baron Empain—who this summer gambled away Fl.2 billion at the roulette tables in the gambling casinos—whether Giscard's policy is an error or a mistake! This is a deliberate policy.

This is why the PCF is the only political force in France that can assume all of its responsibilities at the head of the struggle against that government which wants to crush the workers.

All of the deliberations of our parliamentary delegation were essentially aimed at seeking the best ways to make sure—not only in parliament but throughout the country—to push the development of the allaround struggle with a view to wresting, through combat, all demands that can ease the pain and the sufferings of those who work.

[Question] The statement by the president of the republic on Mr Barre was interpreted in various ways. How do you interpret it?

George Marchais: The president of the republic defended a policy, asserted his determination to pursue it, and, by the same token, he gave his stamp of approval to his prime minister. That is all.

[Question] Do you finally think that the Thursday meeting will be very useful?

Charles Fiterman: The specific behavior of the socialist leaders in response to the problems which are the problems of the workers and the country as a whole in effect augurs ill for the meeting scheduled for Thursday. To prove that, I would merely like to mention the attitude of Gaston Defferre in response to the struggle developed by the shipyard workers in Marseille in defense of their jobs. These workers, who have the total support of the militants and elected representatives of the PCF, demonstrated at the

end of last week especially for Terrin. In the course of these demonstrations, they clashed with the forces of repression. There was violence against communist elected officials, especially against Jeanine Porte.

In view of such a situation, all that Gaston Defferre managed to say was, on the one hand, that the demonstrations were not a good thing, that one should discuss the issues in secret and that one should come to an agreement with business and industry; on the other hand he said that, whenever anybody went out to demonstrate, he had better be prepared to get hit! In other words, Gaston Defferre does not speak a language that is in any way different from that of Giscard d'Estaing when he explained that problems are going to be solved with the help of the consensus. Worse than that, Gaston Defferre justified repression against the communist elected representatives.

It is evident that this kind of behavior--where one talks about union while at the same time practicing the exact opposite--does not exactly create the best conditions for the meeting that is supposed to take place. Having made this point, we are going to go into this meeting with only one concern: To present our viewpoint on the situation, to explain what we are doing, and to see to it that the action we are developing throughout the country, the support we are giving to the struggle of the workers and to the satisfaction of their demands, will be boosted even more.

Getting Results Through Action

[Question] If the meeting is supposed to take place under such bad omens, why go there at all?

Charles Fiterman: We communists are extremely patient and extremely constructive people. It is true that the workers at this moment must not essentially concentrate on this meeting this coming Thursday. Above all they must gather in the enterprises, in the towns, and they must take the defense of their demands in hand. They must make sure that they achieve results due to their own action. That is the essential thing. They cannot wait for such a meeting to solve their own problems in their place. Having made this point, we, for our part, are people who are extremely concerned with promoting, to the fullest extent possible, the development of the response that must be made to the attack coming from the government. The Socialist Party has proposed this meeting to us to discuss the situation. Well, we will go there!

(In response to Gerard Carreyrou, of Europe 1 [network], who talked about a "big political show," George Marchais said this:)

"The 'big political show' would be to wipe out and conceal the realities of the situation, the disagreements, at the end of a meeting such as this one which is going to be held or others, regardless of whatever level they may be held at. From that viewpoint, the reaction of the two parties to

the address by the president of the republic last night is significant in realizing that there is one fundamental difference between the PCF and the PS [Socialist Party]. As far as I am concerned, I will once again say three times no to the consensus. On Europe 1, Francois Mitterrand himself carefully refrained from answering that question with either yes or no.

"As is his habit, he maneuvered with the wind, but he refused to adopt a categorical position. We communists say that the workers cannot support a policy designed to make them increasingly unhappy, to make their lives tougher all the time, to make their working conditions more difficult."

Getting back to the proposals of the president of the republic in relation to the consensus, George Marchais concluded: "Taking as an example the issue of 'France,' Giscard d'Estaing expressed the following idea: 'If we could only have the kind of consensus in France which they have in Germany.' Now, just ten minutes later, forgetting what he had just said, he explained that the situation in West Germany was no better than what it was in France and that it might even be better in France! That is not the sort of thing one expects from a president of the republic."

(A question was then asked as to whether the communist parliamentary delegation would file a censure motion when parliament is reconvened. Robert Ballanger, chairman of the communist delegation in the National Assembly, replied that, in the current situation—with the French having less and less confidence in the administration—it is up to the latter to bring up the issue of confidence in parliament.)

5058

CSO: 3100

PCF'S MARCHAIS SPEAKS ON LEFT UNION, OTHER ISSUES

Paris L'HUMANITE in French 14 Sep 79 pp 5,6 LD

[Apparent text of PCF Secretary General Georges Marchais' closing speech at PCF Central Committee meeting 12 September: "Building the New Union Through Struggle"--passages between slantlines printed in italics]

[Excerpts] Comrades, in closing this meeting my intention is not to go back over all the current problems and all the objectives which we have set for the coming period. Philippe Herzog's report and the rich discussion which followed it dealt extensively with those matters.

In connection with all that has been said I would like to concentrate in this speech on a few aspects of the current situation relating to the application of the decisions taken by our 23d Congress.

It is now 4 months since that congress was held. Although the period since then has been punctuated by summer vacations, it is possible to report that even in this short time appreciable efforts have been made or started to apply these decisions.

All these initiatives and the work of this central committee meeting are inspired by the same approach which constitutes and will systematically continue to constitute our rule of conduct: I mean /the regular, meticulous, complete and determined application of all our congress' decisions./

This is and will continue to be our attitude and nobody can doubt this. We have every reason to pursue this approach, especially since concrete experience fully verifies the analyses we have made.

A New Union

We have confirmed our attachment to the union of the left and to the union of all people's forces for democratic change. That is our objective.

In this spirit we indicated that it will be necessary to work toward agreements with the socialist party [PS]. We even specified that we were prepared to encourage any real step forward in this direction. That has indeed been our policy for the past 4 months.

To mention just one example—as everybody will remember, last spring we voted in favor of the censure motion which the PS submitted to the national assembly whereas the PS refused to vote for the motion which we submitted. In the same spirit and in order to do everything possible to develop the counter-offensive against the government's policy, we agreed to the PS proposal for a meeting with our party since the PS expressed its intention to take action against the Giscard government's policy. The meeting will take place 20 September.

Having made that quite clear, there are two things which absolutely must be borne in mind.

/First/ We are clearly not going to reach the type of political agreements with the PS which I mentioned before nor are we going to see broad and loyal joint action in which our organizations could take part. This is not due to some arbitrary decision which we have taken ourselves but simply because the political lines and positions which the PS has constantly adopted make this impossible.

These lines and positions have already been mentioned—for instance, the PS European election campaign, its economic program, its attitude in certain important elections, its analyses of current policies and remarks made by Francois Mitterrand on current struggles. None of these shows a change from the positions which led to the break in 1977 apart from some changes in an even more negative direction. None of these shows any abandonment of the use of double, treble or quadruple talk.

Those are the facts. How could we disregard them? How could we encourage confusion and political maneuvering? To do so would be to betray the mandate we have been given.

/Second/--And I would like to draw my comrades' attention to the prime importance of this question--all our experience, which we have analyzed, has taught us that in order to achieve the necessary union, we must take a different path to the one we followed before. As I have already said, we have chosen a new path for building a new union.

Some people try to suggest that this fundamental approach is a tactical and circumstantial position on our part. They are completely mistaken.

Indeed, our 23d Congress was extremely clear on this point: We will not return to paths and methods which experience has shown to be unsuccessful. That is an absolutely fundamental point, in our view.

I would like to go still further.

Not to the Policies of Dabblers in Politics

In our view, this is really a new concept of politics which we would like to promote in our country. Indeed, it is high time that we destroyed the old

bourgeois tradition whereby the general staffs are allowed to decide everything and a small political class runs the country's affairs in a few Parisian salons.

Our party has nothing in common with the policies of dabblers in politics, with those who change their opinions like the wind, with hints and loud proclamations made without any intention of applying them.

We communists direct our attention to our country's workers in order to discuss the real problems with them, to act with them and to insure that they resolutely make politics /their/ affair. When I say the workers I mean /all/ the workers with their various situations, views, beliefs and tastes. We do not exclude anybody from the vital struggle and do not ask anybody to go along with all that we say. We want to talk, listen, convince people and be convinced and to take action on common aims.

This approach of ours not only corresponds to our view of the march toward socialism but is also the result of our irreversible choice of a democratic and self-managing socialism.

That provides a strong link between short-term struggles and our fight to prepare the future.

Why Grassroots Union

Indeed, in daily action toward objectives which they have chosen themselves the men and women who are hardest hit by the current situation and who aspire to better things, start to discuss, understand each other better, unite and intervene directly in their own affairs. They start to exchange ideas, to listen and learn. In this way they serve their apprenticeship in democracy. They affirm their capacity to play a part in the national life. Every step that the class enemy is pushed back, every position won by the working class is a new tool for removing the obstacles hindering a union for broader objectives.

As we have said before, we must abandon the idealistic view of building a union which would remove the contradictions which exist between the social strata to be united. We must put an end to the pernicious illusion that the problems of the union can be solved simply by sitting round a table in a friendly way. It is by the multifaceted daily struggle, by modifying the balance of forces between the bourgeoisie and the working class that the existing contradictions will be resolved and that we will be able to create the right conditions for the vital rapprochement between socialists and communists and for the new, strong and lasting union which we want.

Some might say that the path we advocate is really very difficult. It is the right path, the safest path and ultimately the quickest path. We do not want great hope to be replaced by great disappointment once again. We want to make progress and will always be ready to assume all our responsibilities to this end. Of course, we do not intend to take decisions for the workers. The future depends on them and their struggles. Our party--as I have already said and will repeat--will not ignore anything likely to really promote union, workers' action and progress toward the democratic transformation of society, toward socialism.

Everybody knows that when we communists talk of union at grassroots levels, this is not just a tactical slogan but a new path which the whole party should resolutely follow with great combativeness, a great constructive spirit and the will to make progress.

This policy of ours presupposes clarity and frankness in our relations with other organizations and with the workers themselves. We think these questions should be settled in the open. This applies to relations with the PS. It also applies to solving problems which might arise in our relations with the trade union organizations.

France Must Develop a Great International Policy

I said before that the whole party--from the cells to the central committee--has for 4 months been showing great initiative in implementing the lines laid down by our 23d Congress not only on the economic and social plane but in all fields. This is the case with major international questions on which I would like to say a few words.

Indeed, I would like to recall that our 23d Congress placed great emphasis on our desire to see France develop a great international policy. This approach has inspired the various initiatives we have taken in this field in the past few months.

The European election campaign and the various meetings with fraternal parties which this campaign involved--I am thinking in particular of the big rallies with Enrico Berlinguer in Marseille and Turin--had already given us an opportunity to stress that unswerving respect for national sovereignty was an essential precondition for France to work to build a democratic Europe of economic and social progress, open to the world, independent and peaceful.

Then during the very fruitful talks which I had with President Tito I recalled our determination to work for peace, peaceful coexistence, and disarmament and to reject bloc politics. On that occasion I also reaffirmed our desire to play our full part in the struggle for a new international economic and political system.

This question was also at the center of the talks which I had in Algiers with the National Liberation Front Party and especially with President Chadli. In this context I would also like to say once again how constructive my meeting with the Algerian head of state was, as was each stage in this important visit. What I saw and learned during that trip convinced me that France can and must play a considerable role in that part of the world. In particular, France could give effective support for the emancipation of peoples and the settlement of conflicts. This is true with regard to the West Sahara, as we pointed out in the joint communique which we signed after our meeting with the Polisario Front secretary general. It is also true with regard to the Middle East and we will not fail to stress this when we next meet with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

Generally speaking, we want to insure that France abandons the bloc policy, alignment with Atlanticism, confrontation with the Third World and the arms race.

A Disturbing Campaign

In this connection I would like to mention the formidable campaign being waged on the basis of the so-called Soviet threat--a threat so strong that the first signs of World War III can be distinguished.

It is worth noting that the promoters of this particularly disturbing campaign include various government spokesmen, the American Kissinger and one of Francois Mitterrand's advisers, not to mention Jacques Fauvet's LE MONDE. In fact, the objectives of this disturbing campaign are obvious. At a time when major strategic arms limitation agreements are on the point of being ratified there are some people who still dream of reviving the arms race.

At the same time, especially in the FRG and in France, some people are coming out in favor of a European defense system--in other words, in favor of the old crisis plan aimed at giving the FRG access to nuclear weapons.

I would like to state quite clearly that any attempt to encourage such a venture in any way would meet with a firm and immediate response from the PCF.

Obviously, imperialism--on both sides of the Atlantic--cannot tolerate the overall development of the international situation which is favorable to the forces of peace. It is initiating numerous intrigues and maneuvers worthy of the cold war. It is orchestrating large-scale ideological campaigns. The aim of these campaigns is both to promote reactionary ideas and to maintain a climate of fear and of resignation to the crisis.

Our 23d Congress was right to stress that imperialism will only accept peaceful coexistence if forced to do so. Vigilant action is required from the advocates of peace.

In the field of foreign policy, as in all other fields, we do not intend to put off the solution of urgent problems to some distant time. Therefore, we will take immediate action to promote the policies I have just cited. In accordance with the decisions taken by our 23d Congress, we will support any step forward on this path.

CSO: 3100

GALLEY INTERVIEWED ON BANGUI INTERVENTION

Paris Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 21 Sep 79 LD

[Excerpts] Bokassa I, Emperor of Central Africa, was overthrown last night. At the request of the new Central African authorities, the French government has sent a military detachment. The assignment of the military detachment, which consists of two companies, is, it is being made clear at the Ministry of Cooperation, to guarantee the safety of the population, given the threats which may exist. This intervention brigade left last night. This poses the problem of the role of France in the coup d'etat which has just occurred in Bangui, causing the fall of Emperor Bokassa. This question was put by Yves Loiseau to Robert Galley, the Minister of Cooperation, a short while ago:

[Galley: begin recording] I think that President Dacko, relatively apprehensive at the outburst of relief which has probably swept through Bangui and the Central African country, wanted some French elements to come and help (in preventing) looting and trouble.

I must say that the police and the presidential guard, who were under the orders of President Bokassa—sorry, Emperor Bokassa—must be now in a state of complete disarray. Consequently, President Dacko, who is relying on the army, as you have seen from his message, wants to be strengthened, and act in such a way to head off the occurrence of new massacres in Bangui. In the communique released by the government, we have provided for the French military units to be recalled as soon as security is restored, and as soon as President Dacko and the Central African authorities ask for it. What I can say today is that as far as I know, the French units consist of two companies. [End recording]

CSO: 3100

INDIAN OCEAN CALLED 'ESSENTIAL ELEMENT FOR 1980'S'

Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Sep 79 p 40

[Article: "Indian Ocean Is Essential Element of Strategy for the 1980's"]

[Text] Admiral Henri Labrousse, a member of the National Defense Studies Committee, is of the opinion that the Indian Ocean, the "new center of the globe," could be the essential element in the major reappraisal of strategy for the 1980's. In his study recently published in DEFENSE NATIONALE, Admiral Labrousse, former commander of the French Naval Forces in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, examines what he considers the three threats to ocean shipping which in moving from the Persian Gulf and rounding the Cape of Good Hope into the Atlantic Ocean, is obliged to first pass through the Strait of Hormuz located between the northeast tip of the Arabian Peninsula and Iran. These three threats are:

1. The proximity of Afghanistan where a "powerful separatist movement supported by the USSR would be enough to create an independent Baluchistan. (The area in question extends from Afghanistan to the northern coast of the Persian Gulf). The Strait of Hormuz would then come under Moscow's control because the independent Baluchistan could not deny the Soviets bases."
2. "A revolutionary movement such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Sea [FPLOGA]--or any other front--could temporarily interrupt oil shipments by laying floating mines in the Strait of Hormuz by means of fishing boats."
3. "South Yemen and elements of the rebellion in the Dhofar [region of Oman] the presence in Aden of Russians and Cubans as technical advisers or pilots for the local air force's MiG-17's and MiG-23's, the spectacular expansion of the Soviet base in Aden where a submarine base is under construction, and the training of the Dhofar rebels by Cubans and East Germans, all create an unstable situation around Oman and the Arabian Sea, a situation described by American strategists as a methodical encirclement of the gigantic reserve of energy represented by the oil deposits of the Persian Gulf region. Admiral Henri

Labrousse asserts that the oil-shipping route has become "a fundamental element in the security of the Western bloc" because, in 1980, more than 1 billion tons of oil will be transported via this channel which carries 60 percent of Europe's supply, 90 percent of Japan's, and 20 percent of the United States'. In 1978, some 8,400 ships traveled this route and nearly half of them transported 850 million tons of oil and natural gas.

8041

CSO: 3100

'I KATHIMERINI' WARNS AGAINST JUNTA REMNANTS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 21 Sep 79 p 5 AT

[Editorial: "The Home Front, Once Against"]

[Excerpts] Naturally it is no secret that our country's international position, our relations in the international sphere and our national affairs more generally, are at an extremely delicate phase. We would even say at a critical bend. The central point which defines the "delicacy" of today's situation is the difference of opinion that Greece has with leading members of the alliance to which it belongs and in particular with the dominant power of this alliance which has special and particular interests in our area which, as we recently stressed, are not always compatible with the interests and aspirations of the western world as a whole.

The starting point for this difference of opinion lies with the dispute between Greece and Turkey which exclusively arises from the expansionist and hegemonistic views of Turkey at the expense of Greek territory and as a result of Turkey's sudden and unprecedented questioning of the entire international--legal and otherwise--status of the area. The more direct cause for this difference of opinion is the fact that through the alliance's apparatus and, allegedly, in the name of this alliance, our country is asked to accept "arrangements" which are nothing more than Turkish demands aimed at serving Turkish aspirations against Greek territory, which have absolutely no relation with the defense requirements of the alliance and which create negative as well as dangerous prospects to our national security and sovereignty as well as to the whole legal and other status of the area.

It is obvious that during such a delicate phase of our international relations the stability and security of our home front take on a special and great importance. The unprecedentedly audacious and truly incendiary campaign recently undertaken by the junta remnants in their oral and press expressions are, most certainly, not at all coincidental. The supporters and mouthpieces of the illegal and defunct "regime" of the 7-year period have gained courage. They have gone as far as to claim, these people who are responsible for our national calamity and our current woes, that they should regulate our national policy: Shamelessly they present themselves as the mouthpieces and

supporters of the "position" of the foreigners, of the ones who demand from us to accept "arrangements" which are dangerous to our very national security. [Passage giving example of junta remnant activities, omitted]

What is important today are not the remnants of the junta. What is important is the fact that they have gained courage to the point of inciting to riot. And yet at the time of the collapse of their regime in the midst of flames of calamity they remained voiceless and meek. This is a non-constructive phenomenon which demonstrates some backtracking and adverse change of climate in certain sectors of our public and national life. The result is that our institutions are being undermined and so is our national survival which is inseparably connected to these institutions, while we stand as witnesses to this fact.

Over and above this, this phenomenon is in itself indicative of the methods employed by certain factors, both alien and local, who apart from all else, cannot accept the idea of abolishing the subjugation of the old "Greek" foreign policy even if this is done under the basic and traditional orientations of our country.

The bad thing is that in their destabilization work these remnants of the junta are supported, involuntarily, perhaps, but positively by certain other elements of our public life, politicians, trade unionists and others, who think they may reap benefits, political, commercial etc., through their exploitation of the difficult times of this moment.

The times, however, permit no laxity. The stability and security of the home front must be strengthened and protected. The expressions we pointed out earlier, centered around the unbridled actions of the junta remnants, must not be dramatized but, at the same time, they must not be underestimated, particularly in their probable interconnections. We state this to all the personalities in our public life and we state it in all directions. We hope that we are being understood.

CSO: 4908

CITY PLANNING RESTRICTIONS ANNOUNCED

Athens PROINI ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 2 Sep 79 pp 1, 17

[Text] At its meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Premier Karamanlis, the National Zoning and Environment Council [ESKhP] decided, in order to restore and improve the environment, to impose new restrictions on the extension of city zoning in thickly populated areas outside the city limits and on the establishment of commercial activities or operations in specific areas.

More specifically, in order to assure the timely intervention of appropriate services in crucial sectors, the minister of coordination and the deputy minister of public works are authorized in cooperation with the appropriate minister as the case may be to "propose the issuance of presidential decrees which will impose temporary or permanent restrictions or regulations for the establishment of commercial activities or operations or the use of the space in specific zones or areas, as well as for the protection and improvement of the environment."

At the same time, on the basis of the ESKhP decision, the Public Works Ministry General Directorate on Housing [GDO] "is obligated, first of all, to restrict the extension of city zoning to thickly populated areas outside the city limits and, in any case, not outside the limits provided by the city zoning and only under special preconditions. In addition to the above decisions whose implementation will play a decisive role in the further development of the capital area, ESKhP decided also the following:

1. GDO must immediately proceed with the preparation of the necessary studies on zoning sections, on areas, that is, where prompt intervention is necessary and with the determination of incentives for the development of zoning areas, etc. Also, those points of the Layout Plan which were disputed during last Monday's meeting should be studied in order to complete the Plan's framework.
2. The new projects planned for the capital area must be approved only as long as they are in agreement with the ESKhP decision.

3. The rate and timing for escalating the addition of areas to the city planning will be determined on the basis of a program to be prepared by the Ministries of Coordination and Public Works.
4. ESKhP will solve all disputes or differences on programs by various sectors or even controversies concerning the objectives of the Layout Plan.
5. GDE must immediately initiate the implementation of the Layout Plan.
6. GDE is the appropriate agency for monitoring the implementation of the decisions ESKhP took yesterday and for updating them. For this purpose GDE will prepare each year a report on the developments and progress as concerns the implementation of the Layout Plan. This report will be submitted to the ESKhP, and on the basis of this report the public, too, will be informed on the progress of the Plan.

On the other hand, during its meeting yesterday--the second since its establishment--ESKhP adopted all provisions of the Layout Plan on which there was agreement during last Monday's meeting and which have already been published in TA NEA.

As is known, the Layout Plan includes among other things this paragraph: The areas to be approved for housing, the areas to be used for recreation or summer vacation residences, the limits of city planning sections and the corresponding population sizes.

Statement by the Premier

Following the ESKhP meeting yesterday, the premier, referring to the present situation in the capital area, said:

"Life in the capital has become problematic. It has been necessary to cope with the situation promptly and effectively, something which could be accomplished only through the cooperation and activation of all agencies, the local self-government, the social agencies and all residents of the capital."

The premier said further that during the final preparation of the Layout Plan there developed "a really democratic dialogue." He added: "The Layout Plan concerns the lives of all of us because it regulates social, economic, administrative and zoning matters. Their effective regulation will contribute to better living conditions in the capital."

MORNOS DAM CLOSES FOR ADDITIONAL REINFORCEMENT

Athens PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA in Greek 2 Sep 79 pp 1, 2

[Article by Giorgos P. Karalis]

[Text] Athens will be supplied with water from Mornos until the first rains this year fill the [reservoirs] at Yliki and Marathon. Immediately after, Mornos will not be used for a long period--perhaps until the summer of 1980--in order to complete certain projects necessary for its operation. Their completion is estimated to be by the end of 1980 or early in 1981.

This exclusive information of PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA was indirectly confirmed by the Public Works Ministry secretary general who said that the water supply from Mornos will be stopped at about the end of the year (that is, 2 months following the official opening of its normal operation) for a period of 1.5 to 2 months in order to inspect and reinforce the dam.

The secretary general hastened to observe that "we should be satisfied" since Mornos was actually built in 1 year and pointed out that the 190-kilometer pipe-laying project actually began last year. He added that a project of such magnitude needs special attention to avoid any incidents. As is already known, Public Works Minister N. Zarnidinidis expressed concern about the condition of the whole project and referred to certain special measures being taken for the inspection and the trial test of the project--measures imposed by the magnitude of the project.

This intensified attention by the Ministry of Public Works officials was caused on the one hand by the projects which have not been constructed until now and on the other hand by the concern expressed by Premier Karamanlis himself (who is familiar with the project and follows closely the progress of the work, having assigned to his technical advisor Loukas Kyriakopoulos the special responsibility of keeping him informed, especially on this matter). According to our exclusive information, he is reported as having said many times recently that as far as Mornos is concerned, "I don't want another pool of water..!"

Regardless of all this, Mornos will stop supplying water to the capital for a long period right after its official inauguration because:

- a. The Thivai canal walls must be raised--a project estimated to last until May and to cost 150-200 million drachmas.
- b. It is necessary to install the remote control equipment. Such installation is expected to start next November and will be completed in 15 months (ed. note: this means that the work will be completed in February 1981). During the installation of this equipment the Mornos water supply reservoir will not be in operation for about 4-5 months since a large copper cable 192 kilometers long must be installed inside the water pipe (the water pipe also). This cable will be used for handling the whole project (regulation of the water flow, etc.).

It should also be noted that the assignment of this project has become complicated during the past few days as a result of dissensions in the Public Works Council because the French technical advisors of the Public Works Ministry are in favor of assigning the project to a French company while members of the Council, on the basis of the bids received, favor a German company. In the face of this situation, the minister of public works chose to give an extension of 45 days so that the two foreign companies could submit more detailed bids so that a final assessment and decision might be made.

- c. Various repairs, of minor importance but extensive, must be made along the whole length of the Mornos water system such as cement patching, cleaning, conduits, reinforcement of the water pipe, etc. It is noted that only about half of the total length (15 kilometers) of the Giona tunnel has been cleaned.

These and other reasons are necessitating the interruption in the use of Mornos for many months. The fact also should be added that the Mornos reservoir will need this year's rains to be filled with water. Because, contrary to what Public Works Minister N. Zarndinidis has officially said that the Mornos reservoir has already accumulated 130 million cubic meters of water, appropriate technicians who work at Mornos claim that the accumulated water just about reaches 50 million cubic meters, while the Public Works Ministry secretary general hastened to state to this newspaper that the reservoir water capacity today has reached 100-110 million cubic meters thus contradicting the earlier statement by Minister Zarndinidis. The secretary general added that no anxiety should exist because with the coming autumn rains the problem will be overcome since there is a possibility that the reservoir level will rise soon.

For the record, it is noted that the study made on Mornos (which took into consideration also the hydrological data of the area) states that three winters will be needed for the lake to be filled. It should be added also that the Mornos lake contains so much water that in order for

it to reach the Giona tunnel and to flow to Athens it was necessary to transfer from Ylikí one of the pump stations of the Greek Water Co..! This project cost 6-7 million drachmas and it may be necessary for this pump station to remain in Mornos for a long period...which means that, despite all the ballyhoo, for 1 more year the capital will continue to depend on Ylikí and Marathon for its supply of water.

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CSO:4908

COLOR TV CONTRACT SIGNED WITH FRENCH OFFICIAL

Athens PROINI ELEVTHEROITYPIA in Greek 7 Sep 79 pp 1, 4

[Text] The program that the government committee chaired by Karamanlis has approved for the economic cleansing of the Greek Radio and Television [ERT] provides for loans, cuts in expenditures and an increase in program scheduling.

At the same time, within the context of a number of measures taken for a complete reorganization of the country's TV system, an inter-statal Greek-French agreement was signed yesterday for the use of the SECAM system in Greek color TV. The measures for the reorganization of the TV system are stated in a government announcement as follows:

1. The radio and TV coverage of the whole country.
2. The establishment of a coordinating body for the operation of the two stations with an objective aimed at coordinating the program planning as well as at achieving closer cooperation among certain services and realizing greater savings.
3. The complete administrative and accounting reorganization of ERT through the implementation of modern administration methods and the use of computers.
4. The use of an expert for instituting objective criteria for determining program costs.
5. The implementation of a program for a complete cleansing of ERT, for limiting expenses and for increasing income.
 - a. The deficit due of the 1979 ERT budget will be met by loans and by special savings.
 - b. Care is being taken to transfer the excess number of civil servants to other public agencies.
 - c. It has been decided to restructure in a rational way the personnel and salary structure as well as to limit the employment of nonpermanent employees.

d. The exemptions and deductions from duties paid to the public treasury and to other state agencies are abolished. The elimination of certain non-productive activities will also be studied.

e. It is self-evident that in order to complete these programs the need for readjusting the present [employee] contributions will be studied in the future.

f. The establishment of a subsidiary company is being considered. Its task will be to produce, on the basis of international standards, color TV films for export.

g. In the context of reorganization and cleansing measures, care is being taken for the qualitative improvement of the broadcasts.

The Improprieties

Deputy Minister to the Premier Ath. Tsaldaris, referring yesterday to the published reports about improprieties in ERT, said that an investigation is already being conducted and that this investigation does not concern members of the administration and particularly Khondros.

Color TV

Color TV will start operating in Greece in 17 months as provided in the agreement signed yesterday in the Ministry of Commerce by G. Panagiotopoulos and French Minister of Industry Andre Giraux. A detailed agreement with a timetable for the installation of the system will be signed in France in 2 months.

The cost of the installation and operation of the SEKAM system will be 680 million drachmas to be paid as follows: 20 percent of the total cost in 22 years with interest at 3.5 percent. The first payment will start in 78 months. The remaining 80 percent will be paid in 10 years with interest at 7.75 percent.

Present at the signing of the agreement for the use of the SEKAM system were Deputy Minister to the Premier Ath. Tsaldaris and Deputy Commerce Minister I. Dimopoulos from the Greek side, and from the French side were Ministerial Director of the French Republic Espaire, French Charge d'Affaires Oknes [transliteration] and French technicians.

Panagiotopoulos Statement

Following the signing of the agreement, Commerce Minister Panagiotopoulos made the following statement:

"I am glad to receive in my ministry my friend, the industry minister of France, for the purpose of signing today the color TV agreement. Following

the negotiations conducted by my colleague Tsaldaris, we have now reached this pleasant conclusion, the agreement introducing color TV in our country--an agreement with conditions favorable to Greece. I believe that this agreement can be included in the framework of the efforts by both parties for a continuous development of our relations."

In his response, the French minister said:

"I know that the relations which bind Greece and France are excellent and for this reason France, too, does not forget the role Greece has played in France's civilisation and that of Europe in general. For this reason I am particularly glad that our relations and our bonds are continually becoming closer and stronger.

"I am glad I came to sign with my friend Panagiotopoulos and with Tsaldaris this agreement which our two countries have negotiated. This agreement represents the strengthening of the relations of the industries which link the two countries, relations which we will have in the TV sector. I would like to add that France hopes that, thanks to this common color TV system the two countries will have, the French public will be able to receive through its TV sets messages of the Greek culture in its modern meaning. TV is a technique, a method which undergoes development continually and I hope that in the future our two countries will be able to cooperate in this industry and that this cooperation will be the beginning of closer cultural and industrial relations between the two countries."

Tsaldaris Statement

On the same subject of color TV, Tsaldaris made the following statement:

"1. Between Commerce Minister G. Panagiotopoulos and myself on the one hand and French Industry Minister Andre Giroux on the other, an inter-statal agreement was signed today between Greece and France for providing the ERT and the Armed Forces Information Service [YENED] TV stations with the proper equipment for organizing and producing color TV programs in Greece.

"2. The government's decision to introduce color TV was dictated by the need to modernize the TV system of the country, by the fact that it is predicted with certainty that soon no spare parts will be available for black and white TV's because the factories will not produce them, and, finally, because only color TV sets can be sold abroad where color TV has been generally used and because Greece aims at developing a TV export industry.

"3. Between the SECAM and PAL TV systems--which were judged to be equivalent--the government chose SECAM because this system when implemented in the Mediterranean countries will assure the possibility of exports in this area.

"4. After scrutinizing the bids submitted by the German FERNSEH Co. and the French THOMPSON Co. the special Technical Committee and the Financial Committee decided in favor of the French bid for the following reasons:

"a. The French bid was lower; b. it was linked with the exports of Greek tobacco; and c. it provided more favorable payment conditions which were included in the Greek-French agreement."

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CSO:1908

PINTASILGO HOPES TO 'BEQUEATH PATH' TOWARD ECONOMIC CHANGE

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Sep 79 p 3 LD

[Report: "Government is Tied Down by Budget Which it Did Not Draw Up"]

[Text] "This government, which was meant to be a government for 100 days but is in fact something more," "is tied down by a budget which it did not draw up," the prime minister said during an interview for Portuguese television yesterday. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo also stressed that public enterprises need a complete reorganization to make them more efficient. With respect to the price increases announced Friday, she stated that they are "totally unconnected with the IMF."

This round of increases, she stated, is "connected with the structure of public enterprises," the country's internal difficulties and the international crisis, particularly in view of the increased price of oil.

"We do not have an economy built for people," but "possibly, people serving the economy, and this is a change which cannot be made in 3 months," the prime minister stated.

"I am convinced that we will at least bequeath the path toward an economy which will serve the people, and not a large octopus which is enveloping people in its tentacles" and "almost sucking their blood," she commented.

After stating that her government "is tied down by a budget which it did not draw up," Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo referred the need to promote a "healthy balance" in the finances of some enterprises, which she did not specify, stressing the weight of the administrative machine, which has "400,000 officials for almost 10 million inhabitants."

She also recalled Giscard d'Estaings' watchword that "the consumer society is over for the French people."

Speaking of other international repercussions of the oil crisis, the prime minister recalled that "in neighboring Spain the cabinet held a special meeting on the very day of the oil price increase."

"In our case, we responded to the oil price increase by keeping prices unchanged," Lourdes Pintasilgo stressed.

When asked about the presence of an IMF delegation in Lisbon, the prime minister emphasized that the current contacts are with the bank of Portugal and not with the government.

At several points in the interview, which was recorded yesterday afternoon in Sao Bento Palace, Lourdes Pintasilgo dealt with the social effects of the price increases, and said that she had taken care to alleviate them, citing the case of transport fares.

In fact, in the prime minister's opinion, although "most of the population can bear these increases, within the degree of austerity which has characterized the last few years," there are certain sectors, such as the retired, the unemployed and the aged, who will have some difficulty in bearing them. For that reason, it will be necessary to "alleviate" the effects of the increase, although "the country does not currently possess resources capable of compensating for this increase in prices." The prime minister also pointed out in this connection the plight of, for instance, some pensioners who receive 1,500 escudos--a sum not even sufficient for a minimum diet.

In addition, Lourdes Pintasilgo reaffirmed this government's intention to adopt measures which will inevitably have medium-term repercussions, citing as an instance the case of sines, where, "we will not wait for the jetty to be destroyed again just because this government is to last only 100 days."

Commenting on views that this government has been growing increasingly isolated, Lourdes Pintasilgo pointed out that "formally, it has been isolated from the outset" because of its nonparty nature. However, the talks which she held last week with the parties and with the social partners as well as the many letters which have reached the Sao Bento Palace demonstrate, according to the prime minister, precisely the reverse.

CSO: 3101

PAPER PUBLISHES BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON NEW PARTY

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 1 Sep 79 p 4R

[Text] The leaders of the recently established Socialist Unity Workers Party (POUS) have not yet decided whether they will present their own candidates in the interim elections. The position of this political organization, which is supported by independent deputies Aires Rodrigues and Carmelinda Pereira, with regard to the forthcoming elections, will be determined in the middle of this month, during a national council. A party spokesman stated to EXPRESSO that he could not give any information on the matter for the present.

It should be noted that the promoters of POUS have taken the precaution to legalize it as a party by delivering the necessary signatures for that purpose (over 5,000) to the Supreme Court of Justice in time to be able to compete in the interim elections. Nevertheless, it is possible that this fact is due only to the normal course of the process of establishment of the new party.

The formation of POUS was announced officially at the end of June this year, following a conference that took place in Lisbon on 24 June. Active members of the Workers Socialist Organization (openly Trotskyist) and of the Movement for Socialist Unity (which includes the persons who accompanied Aires Rodrigues and Carmelinda Pereira in the dissidence from the Socialist Party) -- groups that subsequently were abolished -- were present at that conference. The two former socialist deputies who are supporting the move have made it quite clear, however, that they have not joined POUS for now. Thus they have attempted to ensure retention of their parliamentary mandates. These mandates would lapse, if they joined a party as members of which they had not been elected.

Their presence in Parliament is a means of propaganda for the new party and, at the same time, enables them to take definite public stands with regard to important issues, as is happening now with the crushing criticisms that they have made of the Pintasilgo Government. Actually, Aires Rodrigues and Carmelinda Pereira are the POUS figures most in evidence, in spite of the fact that they still claim to be independent.

POUS Background

This is although the idea to establish it was launched last May by OST [Workers Socialist Organization]. At that time, a call was made to the PS [Socialist Party] and PCP dissidents to unite around a new political organization. The leaders of MUS [Movement for Socialist Unity] responded favorably to the call. Contacts between both organizations began immediately.

OST came into being in the first months of 1975, bringing together some Trotskyists. In turn, MUS emerged more recently, after approval of the program of the Mota Pinto Government. Its sponsors came from the PS and had founded, earlier, the Socialist Workers Commissions Coordinating Organization. Its great objective has always been the appointment of a PS-PCP government. That was probably the reason why Aires Rodrigues and Carmelinda Pereira voted against the budget of the first constitutional government, formed by the PS, a party to which they belonged at that time. This vote is what caused their expulsion, attributed by the socialists to their "Trotskyist activity."

PS-PCP Government the Main Objective

At this time, the main objective of POUS is still a PS-PCP government. Therefore, it is natural that they are advising voting indiscriminately in those two parties. Nevertheless, the possibility is not ruled out that they will present candidates in some areas in which they have some degree of foothold, even running the risk of competing directly with communists and socialists.

Another important objective of the new party is a struggle against Ramalho Eanes. According to what a POUS leader stated to us, it is not a matter of a personal problem with regard to General Eanes, but rather of a question of principle. In fact, they protest the presence of any military person in the organs of government. This, moreover, is a common stand among Trotskyists.

Nevertheless, they do not fail to accuse the president of the Republic of having betrayed those who elected him and they are opposed to the cabinet of Maria de Lu des Pintasilgo.

A POUS spokesman also told us that opposition to the president of the Republic and to his government was one of its greatest trump cards during the campaign for acquiring signatures. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the 5,524 persons who supported legalization of the party were probably especially tempted by this aspect of its activity.

The leadership of the Socialist Unity Workers Party has stressed the fact that it obtained the signatures needed for its legalization in only 1 month (between 20 July and 19 August). This enabled them to deliver them to the Supreme Court of Justice on 23 August. These signatures were collected

primarily in the industrial areas of Lisbon and Setubal, in some workers centers in the center region (like, for example, Marinha Grande) and in Algarve. Therefore, these will be the areas in which they will probably present candidates.

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CSO: 3101

PCP SENDS GREETINGS TO 22ND NATIONAL CPUSA CONVENTION

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 6 Sep 79 p 2

[Letter from Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party to the 22nd National Convention of the U.S. Communist Party]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party sends warm, fraternal greetings to the 22nd National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America and, through its delegates, to all the communists, the working class and the working people in your country.

The Portuguese communists are following with keen interest and a spirit of solidarity the courageous struggle of the working class, of the workers, of every progressive force and, especially, of the communists, in the United States for a more just society, directed toward social progress and peace, for the good of the people of the United States and of all mankind.

The CPUSA, born and forged in the hard battles of the American working class against the policy of exploitation, oppression and war of the monopolies, facing persecution and repression imposed on the most consistently democratic forces that dared face up to that policy in the leading fortress of imperialism, affirms itself today as an active, prestigious, patriotic internationalist force, indispensable to the fight against the crisis of capitalism, for great success of the national and social liberation movements in a number of countries.

Imperialism is trying desperately to oppose the advance of the revolutionary process. It injects itself openly into the life of the people. It accelerates the arms race. It is trying to revive the cold war climate in international relations. There is, however, no alternative to detente. The recent signing of the SALT II agreements is the course to follow and to support, in order to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The PCP believes that unity of every revolutionary and anti-imperialist force and, first of all, of the international communist movement, in the struggle against the maneuvers of imperialism and of the reactionaries, is a decisive factor for the success of this struggle vitally important to mankind.

The Portuguese communists do not confuse the American working people with the government of the American multinational corporations that supported Portuguese fascism and colonialism and that, after the revolution started on 25 April 1974, injected itself brazenly into the internal affairs of the young Portuguese democracy.

The Portuguese communists defend the development of the United States working class for freedom, peace, democracy and socialism.

The PCP is in solidarity with the struggle of the CPUSA in defense of the interests and aspirations of the working class hard hit by the crisis of capitalism, and against racial and national oppression, against violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens, for extension of democracy and against the ultrareactionary and fascist forces, against militarization of economic activity, against the arms race, for peace and international detente.

The PCP is aware of and appreciates the important contribution by the American communists to clarification and denunciation of the policy of meddling, exploitation, aggression and war of American imperialism.

The PCP expresses wishes for the increasing success of the action of the CPUSA directed toward unity of the forces of the left, of the democratic and antimonopolistic forces.

In recent years, the development of the international situation has been marked by a strengthening of the socialist countries, by a worsening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Portugal and the United States, lacking the principles of noninterference, of absolute respect for the independence of every country, in a mutual exchange of advantages. The Portuguese communists are convinced that the fraternal relations existing between our two parties serve the interest of the people of Portugal and of the United States and the cause of peace and international cooperation.

With best wishes for the work of your 22nd national convention to be crowned with complete success, the PCP expresses its firm readiness to work so that the ties of indestructible friendship and solidarity existing between the Portuguese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the United States of America will be strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

Hurrah for the 22nd National Convention of the CPUSA!
Hurrah for friendship between the PCP and the CPUSA!
Hurrah for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

DEMOCRATIC COALITION FACES INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 9 Sep 79 p 11

[Text] Alfonso Osorio, deputy from the Democratic Coalition (CD), has submitted his resignation as chairman and member of the executive committee of the Progressive Democratic Party (PDP), because he feels that the PDP is not helping to clarify, but rather to upset the status of the Spanish right wing. Mr Osorio, who has sent a letter to this effect to the party's secretary general, will retain his deputy's seat.

In his letter of resignation, Alfonso Osorio (who was vice-president of the government in the first Suarez cabinet, before the Democratic Center Union was created) claims to have reached the conclusion that "the PDP's position between the Popular Alliance (which has not deemed it fitting to proceed ahead with the idea of a moderate, progressive right wing party with all those of us who joined the Democratic Coalition prior to 1 March 1979) and the many individuals associated with the UCD is not clarifying, but rather upsetting to the man in the street, who does not understand, and is unwilling to understand, in general, so much eagerness for leadership as is evident today in the sector of public life, in which I consider myself to be, out of my own conviction."

Alfonso Osorio states that he will devote his efforts to parliamentary activity, and "to the formation of cadres of individuals who are motivated by ideals of integration."

Sources close to Mr Osorio informed EL PAIS that, within the Democratic Coalition dialog proved impossible with Manuel Fraga, leader of the AP [Popular Alliance], and that the friends of the former president of the PDP are in the Democratic Center Union. Mr Osorio is apparently interested in seeking an association with the most conservative sector of the government party. In commenting on the activity of the Democratic Coalition's spokesman in Congress, Manuel Fraga, they described his abandonment of the proposal in which the Statute on Autonomy of Catalonia was discussed as "inexplicable." The possibility that the Popular Alliance may recommend a negative vote for the statutes on autonomy has not been precluded.

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CSO: 3110

INTERNAL UCD DIVISIONS REPORTEDLY CAUSING STRAINS

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 9 Sep 79 p 13

[Text] The Democratic Center Union [UCD] does not exist as a political party on the national level, nor does it play a role within Spanish society as do the other democratic political groups. This is the main accusation leveled against the present UCD leadership group by representatives of all the sectors that belong to the government party. The convening of the provincial assemblies, which will take place before the end of October in accordance with the terms of the statutes approved at the party's First Congress, will not help to clarify the internal status of the UCD; because, at least up until now, they have not been the scene of any debate on the party-organization's function nor on its relations with the government. Soledad Gallego-Diaz reports.

On the contrary, the provincial assemblies have been the stage for personal confrontations between members, which have been converted into futile arguments without any essential political content. However, the government party's apparent sluggishness and apathy conceals a harsh struggle for internal power, which will not come to light until the middle of next year. The UCD's Second Congress will probably be attended by two sectors united around two party personages: Landelino Lavilla, the current president of the Congress of Deputies, a Christian Democrat; and Rodolfo Martin Villa, former minister of interior, who is an "independent" or "blue," according to those who have described him. The Social Democrats, the UCD's most extensive sector at the present time, may encounter problems in maintaining its positions in the party, and many of them are almost placing their hopes in the personal backing of the president of the government, Adolfo Suarez, whom they have been rendering good service in the administration. Their "natural" leader, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, might try to reorganize his "followers" independently, but it is doubtful that, to do so, he would have the support of other prominent Social Democrats currently in the government. Sources close to this Social Democratic sector associated with the administration are of the opinion that its role within the party consists of having the UCD adopt the most progressive measures possible within the gamut of Centrist options; although they admit that, once the period of democratic transition ends, the task will become more difficult each day, because the more conservative sector is

working in the opposite direction. A qualified spokesman from this sector stated: "There has not yet been a basic issue in which one could definitely observe that the progressive or reformist sector has lost strength." He added: "When the time comes for a genuine confrontation between both positions to occur, it will be possible to gage the strength and capacity for cohesion that each one has. That, and not before, will be the time, in any case, to reproach the UCD's reformist sector for its activity within the party."

The Christian Democrats, With Landelino Lavilla

The Centrist Christian Democratic sector is working quietly on behalf of its own conception of the UCD. Of the three Christian Democratic branches which joined the Center Union (those represented by Landelino Lavilla and Fernando Alvarez de Miranda, and the one comprised of former members of the Democratic Left), the first two could merge under the leadership of Mr Lavilla, also backed by Marcelino Oreja, the minister of foreign affairs. The former Democratic Left members are "loyal" to the present secretary general, Rafael Arias Salgado, with whom they work in the executive secretariat (Antonio Vazquez is secretary of formation, and Javier Ruperez is secretary of international relations). Despite the fact that they are engaged in silent work within the organization, they have proven incapable of establishing relations with other sectors of the party, and they are rather isolated, with but a slight capacity for influence.

The third ideological movement in the UCD, the liberal one, is in a state of outright dispersion. Its economic proposals have been adopted by the conservative sector, and its social proposals by the progressive sector. Its "visible" head, Joaquín Garrigues Walker, appears to be weary and even bored by the internal struggle, and Centrist circles are of the opinion that he might submit his resignation as minister attached to the presidency in the mini-crisis which will probably be triggered by the passage of the law on the Central State Administration. Antonio Fontan, secluded in the Ministry of Territorial Administration, has remained dissociated from all the major political issues, including the autonomies, and he could hardly regain a "place in the sun" under these circumstances.

The first face-to-face battles at the Second Congress, which many Centrist members feel will be "decisive," will probably take place starting next Christmas. In some instances, the provincial assemblies will make it possible to obtain some clues regarding the correlation of forces; but, at the moment, they are developing along personalist lines. The UCD's political council, the party's top-ranking consultative organ, may possibly meet after 22 October, once the 50 new provincial secretaries have joined it. President Suarez has obviously violated his party's statutes by not convoking the council every 4 months, according to rule; and there have been no official explanations other than "the dreadful amount of work that has burdened the party as a result of the electoral contests."

The present leadership group is currently running the risk that the frequent trips to the provinces made by Manuel Nunez, the secretary of organization and an individual close to Rodolfo Martin Villa, may prove successful, and that a sizable number of the new secretaries may come from the "independent" sector. In view of the fact that Mr Nunez' relations with Mr Arias Salgado do not appear to be overly expeditious, in this instance it would not be difficult to predict that the secretary general will encounter hostile committees which will impede his work and reject his authority. According to one sector of the UCD, the first show of "force" by the party as an organization should be the departure of Vice-President Fernando Abril Martorell and, subsequently, of Mr Arias Salgado. According to another sector, the fate of the secretary general should not be linked with that of the vice-president.

Accusations Against the National Leadership

The main "accusations" leveled against the UCD's leadership group, the "company," as it is usually called, have been concentrated on the lack of interest that the latter has shown, in the view of these sectors, in promoting, or at least encouraging an internal debate which, if not ideological, would at least determine what the relations between the party-organization and the government should be, and what the role of the UCD organs should be. Hence, it has been accused of having no desire to really "organize" a party.

The Centrist sectors close to the administration repudiate these charges and claim that there is, indeed, a desire to create a party, but that it should not be forgotten that the UCD came into existence barely a year ago (its constituent congress being considered a reference point), and that it is in the government. There is an internal debate (they maintain); the fact is that it is taking place within the government itself, because virtually all the members of the executive committee are also members of the cabinet. It is true, they admit, that the government's action has predominated over that of the party, but this was inevitable in view of the conditions in the country and in the UCD itself. They also give a reminder that, since the Democratic Center Union came into being, it has had to engage in three electoral contests.

A representative of this sector declares: "The debate will become intensified, and when we arrive at the Second Congress two options will be clearly proposed: the progressive and the conservative." According to this sector, time is a basic element in any analysis that is attempted of the UCD. It goes on to say that there are at present 150,000 members, and there is very active municipal involvement. It is claimed that the national organization is imperfect, but that the UCD's national leadership lacks the necessary means, involving many millions of pesetas, with which to do more extensive work than it has been doing.

According to the defenders of the present Centrist leadership, the latter has performed one of the most important tasks: that of formation, and they have done this without extensive assistance from the Humanism and Democracy

Foundation, headed by Fernando Alvarez de Miranda, who is apparently reluctant to comply strictly with the article in its statutes which stipulates that its main function is to promote the formation of Centrist members (the Humanism and Democracy Foundation is subsidized almost entirely by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany's Christian Democratic Party).

Incompatibility Between Party and Government

Aware of the need for a better determination of the relations between the UCD and the government, the current leadership is considering the possibility of establishing some measures that will prevent 80 percent of the party's executive committee from being comprised of cabinet members. In the view of the sectors that were queried, the total incompatibility of the sort that exists in the Italian or Belgian Christian Democratic Party is impossible at present.

The sectors close to the administration continue by stating that the UCD should not be analyzed from the standpoint of the leftist parties. The ideological debate will never reach the same intensity as in a socialist party, for example; and, furthermore, those parties have a history dating back many years. The Centrist Party should now embark upon a process of adjustment, and decide on its role vis-a-vis the government. The sources that were consulted claim that, although it seems incredible, the Centrist executive committee has not dealt with this matter thus far, because (they maintain) of the fact that nearly all of its members are ministers.

The uneasiness concerning the "company's" action has met with a major problem, according to the UCD's progressive circles: All the attacks on the party's leadership can be "exploited" by the conservative sector (the Christian Democrats), or by the independents or "blues," for their own benefit; so that, in the battle for internal control, to be won or lost at the next congress, the right wing may win with the unwitting support of the reformist sectors.

Generally speaking, the UCD's "cadres" have not proposed the undisputed leadership of President Suarez, although some sectors, of course those dissociated from the administration, are beginning to spread the theory that it would be feasible to have a solution for change ready for instances of serious crisis. Whether they direct their gaze to the right, center or left of the UCD, they have found no countenance that could provide the "image." Some are associated with a certain ideological movement; others, like Jose Pedro Perez Llorca, who has tried to remain on the sidelines, although he could be included in the conservative sector, or Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, would experience rejection from extensive sectors of the UCD. All the Centrists conclude that Adolfo Suarez will head the Democratic Center Union for a great many years.

2909

CSO: 3110

PCE'S AZCARATE VIEWS OUTCOME OF NONALINED CONFERENCE

Madrid MUNDO OBRERO in Spanish 13 Sep 79 p 7 LD

[Editorial by PCE Executive Committee Member Manuel Azcarate: "Nonalinement and Crisis of Bipolarity"]

[Text] Comments on the nonalined conference have concentrated largely on the pressure from either current, the formulations of this or that issue, and so forth. It seems to me that the essential point--the presence, the vitality and the extraordinary importance which the nonalined movement has acquired in international life--has thereby been obscured.

This movement is the political manifestation of one of the greatest historical changes which has occurred in the world since World War II. As the unforgettable Comrade Kardelj stressed in his last works, vast masses of men and women, formerly subjugated and colonized--mere objects of history--are becoming protagonists and subjects of the principal world events. This phenomenon involves inevitable complexities and contradictions, because it is occurring at rates and in situations which are very different, but it is occurring largely outside the division into two blocs, outside the bipolarity which has characterized the international situation over the last few decades and even with a vocation for independence and the elimination of the blocs.

This represents something radically new in world history. Blocs of great powers have existed at other times: countries which have stood outside those blocs have also been a common phenomenon. But what is unprecedented is for a set of countries (and one comprising a considerable part of mankind) to combine as nonalined countries and with the aim of counting as such in international life.

Does this imply (as the term "nonalined" itself might suggest, if you pay attention only to its literal meaning) a mere negative stance of rejection of something? On the contrary, today it is the stances of alinement which are old, becoming weaker and paralyzing and immobilizing what is new. That is why the attempts--which were fortunately defeated during the debates in Havana--to bring the stances and the dialectic of blocs into the nonalined movement are so negative and dangerous for the cause of peace and progress.

By its very nature, this movement has considerable political and ideological diversity. Does this mean impotence, as is claimed in some comments? The facts demonstrate that it does not. The movement has a ceiling and on many issues cannot adopt a joint position.

But that ceiling is not so low. Let us highlight three key issues which, despite inevitable differences and nuances, are central to the nonaligned movement's principles and actions:

A--independence from the big powers: opposition to imperialism, colonialism and all forms of hegemonism.

B--solidarity with the oppressed peoples' liberation movements, which has once more been reaffirmed in Havana with respect to the Saharan and Palestinian peoples and those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, and so forth.

C--struggle for a new international economic order and against an exploitative system which is tragically widening the gulf between the underdeveloped and unindustrialized countries.

Can anybody doubt the importance of these issues for peace and the fate of mankind?

During the present stage of the crisis of bipolarity, the nonaligned movement is one of the most dynamic factors giving an impetus toward a democratization of international relations, and it has already achieved, for instance, a radical change in the correlation of forces within the United Nations.

This having been said, it does not seem that many arguments justifying Spain's presence at the Havana conference are necessary. Minister Ureja has spoken of some topics debated there which might be of particular interest for us and of the fact that it was being held in a Latin American country.... And he attempted during his current visit to Brussels to "reassure Atlanticist circles" by stating that Spain has no "pro-Third World vocation" and that it is European and Western.

Matters are not clarified with respect to complex international problems by repeating clichés or platitudes, or by raising false problems, because Spain's presence at the nonaligned conference was an elementary requirement of common sense, from a Spanish viewpoint and also from a European viewpoint.

In fact, one of the crucial problems for Europe's future is that of changing its traditional relations with the Third World. This is an objective problem with which even conservative governments are confronted, and let anybody who doubts this observe the recent changes concerning the Palestinian issue....

In such a priority field, Spain has, for historical, geographical and cultural reasons, a vocation and special relations with Latin America, the Arab world and Africa. We belong to Europe, but we are not Norway or Luxembourg.

It would mean impoverishing Spanish foreign policy and our contribution to peace, Europe's security and international cooperation if we became just another addition to the Europe which already exists, disregarding the specific potential which is our own.

This is a topic which has other ramifications and is connected with the debate on joining NATO; we will return to it.

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END